60 CENTS
ICD

JUNE 15, 1971

BUCKLEY ON 'NIXON'S PATIENCE'
see page 669

NATIONAL REVIEW

Universitas Behonylcvny

To All To Whom These Presents Come

Greeting

Johnny Axelrod

having been thoroughly indoctrinated in the venality of American history, mores, folkways, foreign policy, and racial attitudes, is granted the degree of **Bachelor of Arts** and all the privileges and immunities pertaining thereto, in witness whereof, we here affix our hands, and the seal of the University.

Secretary Dean President

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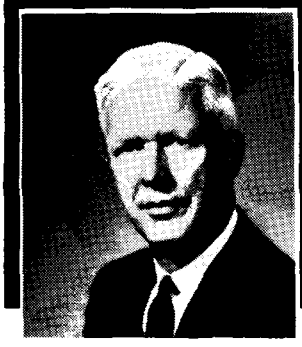
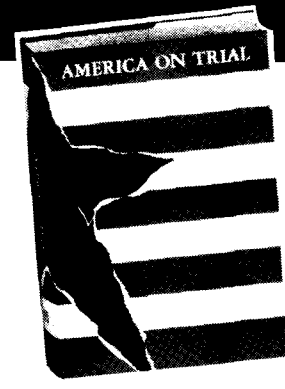
What Went Wrong in Vietnam... Why It Went Wrong... Who Is Responsible...?



General Thomas A. Lane



AMERICA ON TRIAL—The War for Vietnam

by General Thomas A. Lane • Foreword by General Albert C. Wedemeyer

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DO YOU FEEL CONFUSED, angry, mystified by our government's politics – by the continuing lack of honesty and real leadership from the Kennedy, the Johnson and, yes, the Nixon administrations?

General Thomas Lane shares your frustration and your anger. In his important new book, he also shares with you the insights he gained from a lifetime in the military. He uses those insights to reveal what went wrong in Vietnam, why it went wrong, and who caused it.

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Of LBJ, General Lane writes: "He committed his country to endless, costly warfare as long as the enemy chose to continue fighting.... Because a chief purpose of Soviet strategy was to bleed the United States, the Johnson policy accommodated Soviet aims. The war would continue."

Lane is hardly more optimistic about the Nixon Administration. He warns that Vietnamization is no solution, predicts it will end in disaster.

General Lane pulls no punches. He has some sharp things to say about Britain as an ally. He tells why all our present generals and admirals should *resign immediately*. He talks about the drastic transformation of our military services over the past generation – and the chilling outlook unless we reverse the trend. Above all, he presents a set of common-sense alternatives that can still save us.

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- *Domestic policy and foreign policy: the same root illness*
- *A plan for getting American prisoners home safely*
- *The mad hypothesis that has been the cornerstone of American foreign policy for 40 years*
- *Ties between anti-war and civil-rights movements*
- *How LBJ got Republicans to support his no-win policy*
- *The Kennedy strategist who said, "If we need a slogan, it should be, 'Let us make the world safe for revolution'"*
- *LBJ's bombing raids – major industrial and population targets excluded until North Vietnamese were able to disperse*
- *Bobby Kennedy's surrender plan: "a prescription for the ills of South Vietnam which includes a dose of arsenic"*
- *How Moscow planned the seizure of the* PUEBLO. *Its relationship to the war in Vietnam*
- *The outside nation with the greatest economic stake in South Vietnam. Its refusal to help*
- *Martin Luther King's "rhetoric straight from the Communist propaganda mills"*
- *President Nixon trades in good military advisors for bad*
- *Kennedy's crippling disease: did it influence his conduct in Vietnam?*
- *Nixon's utopian attitudes about Communism. Lane charges "misrepresentation of the paralysis and indecision of American foreign policy in recent decades"*
- *Masterful dissection of Leftist arguments on Vietnam: "U.S. aggression," "We can't win," and "We are overextended" syndromes scrutinized and demolished*

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– General Albert C. Wedemeyer

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VOL. XXIII NO. 23 JUNE 15, 1971

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ARTICLES

634 Letter from London *by Colm Brogan*

How do you reverse the tide of inflation? To start with, you resist inflationary wage settlements. Mr. Heath has done so, successfully, twice now; new tests are coming up, says our man in London. If Heath stands firm—Oh, to be in England . . .

635 Special Supplement:

Opinion on the Campus

Back in 1961-63 NATIONAL REVIEW's staff went to twelve American campuses and conducted the most exhaustive survey ever attempted of college students' attitudes on politics, social questions, religion and world affairs. The results were discomfiting to conservatives. Eight years later, in 1969-70, NATIONAL REVIEW went back to the same twelve American campuses and took a similar survey. The results are just in, and made public here for the first time. In a nutshell: Things have gone from bad to worse. Does college move youngsters leftward? See for yourself.

651 The Climate's All Wrong *by W. W. Yale*

A long-time student of military affairs assesses the obstacles in the path of creating an all-volunteer army to replace the draft, and concludes: Why not have the best of both systems?

DEPARTMENTS

653 From the Academy *by Russell Kirk*

News notes from all over the academic scene, that add up to a somewhat cheering conclusion: Perhaps, just perhaps, there is hope after all.

655 Delectations *by Karl R. Zimmermann*

A ride on the Santa Fe's Super Chief, the last of the true luxury trains—and threatened just now by Amtrak. Mr. Zimmermann, a new contributor to Delectations, loves to travel to civilized places by civilized means. He'll shed a tear for Preservation Hall in a coming issue of *NR*.

668 On the Right *by Wm. F. Buckley Jr.*

Our editor reminds some well-meaning liberals, for the hundred and seventeenth time, just who Wilfred Burchett is, and who he works for; marvels that the leftist intelligentsia is finally angry at Fidel Castro; and nudges Mr. Nixon.

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656 **BOOKS—ARTS—MANNERS**

John Chamberlain enjoys a book of essays by Arthur Krock, among the last of the giants on the *New York Times* ☐ John Dos Passos' last book is about Easter Island; anthropologist John Greenway finds the message shining clear ☐ Ronald Berman deplores the newest kamikaze flight by a would-be-with-it academic ☐ Saul Alinsky has committed some rules for radicals to a book; John Coyne wonders what all the fuss is about ☐ Edwin McDowell, of the *Arizona Republic*, enjoys Stephen Shadegg's biography of Clare Boothe Luce ☐ David Brudnoy goes to the movies entirely too often for a Grown Person, thank goodness.

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A lot of guys would be better off getting neckties for Father's Day.

We happen to think that a bottle of Bourbon makes a great Father's Day gift. Particularly if that Bourbon is ours—Beam's Choice.

But right now we'd rather talk about those fathers who'd be better off getting nothing to drink at all. The ones who haven't yet learned to handle their liquor.

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And we also hope that the bunch who would be better off with no Beam's Choice at all, are loved enough not to get any.

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LETTERS

Defense of Henry Luce

In his article, "Harry Luce and the Russian Century" [May 18], my good friend, John Chamberlain, makes the sweeping assertion that he cannot recall a single instance where Henry Luce "really took the measure of the Communists." Permit me in fairness to jog his memory.

In a memorandum to his staff (of which I was then a member), written in 1946 on his return from a trip through Europe, Mr. Luce described a visit to Nuremberg where various Nazi conspirators were in the dock and went on to detail Hermann Goering's defense of, and prescription for, complete and ruthless totalitarianism. He then added these two significant paragraphs.

"Now this Goering classic is by no means of merely historical interest; it states what is still the *one* great issue of our time. For, of course, everything Goering said *applies, without a hair's-breadth difference, to Soviet Russia.*

"I have thus put at the beginning of these notes the two great Realities of contemporary Europe and Eurasia: the hideousness of defeated Nazi Germany *and the similar hideousness of victorious Soviet Russia. All the problems of Europe revolve around these two terrible Realities.*" (Italics added.)

This does not sound to me like a man who failed to take the measure of the Communist menace which, in fact, had been fully exposed in *Life* Magazine as early as 1944, in a celebrated article by former Ambassador William C. Bullitt. Indeed, *who* else besides Luce was talking and publishing this way in the mid-Forties, a decade before my other good friend, Bill Buckley, came on stage with NATIONAL REVIEW?

To borrow a phrase from the conclusion of Mr. Chamberlain's article, "Echo answers 'Who?'"

New York, N.Y. JOHN A. DAVENPORT

Gray vs Geltman

I thank you for the voluminous coverage Max Geltman gave my book, *Divine Disobedience* ["The Berrigans *vs* the United States," May 4]. Of the several factual errors in the article, I would only like to correct those which give the erroneous impression that Mr. Geltman is a friend of my family's: Alexander Liberman is my *step*father, and has never been called "Sascha" in his life. And there is nothing either "strange" or "new" about my being a "daughter of the Church," as I was brought up in the Church by my father, Bertrand du Plessix, who was one of General de Gaulle's most decorated officers, and who was killed early in the French Resistance.

Cornwall Bridge, Conn. FRANCINE GRAY

It is indeed a pity that never "in his life" did anyone ever refer to Mrs. Gray's stepfather, Alexander, by the affectionate Russian diminutive "Sascha." Seeing his name in tandem with that of Tatiana, I thought I could assume a bit of familiarity which has had the unfortunate effect of eliciting from Mrs. Gray some mild contempt. I am truly sorry. As for the "factual errors," since she doesn't name them, I will just have to let that pass.

New York, N.Y. MAX GELTMAN

Alternatives

Bravo for your forthright publication of imaginative alternatives to "let-us-continue" political non-thought. Stephen Kallis and F. Reid Buckley [April 20] deserve commendations for being unhooked in the midst of the hooked generation. But while we are waiting for Mr. Kallis to fill the shoes of Juan Trippe, and for Mr. Buckley to replace Kingman Brewster, please continue to air similar alternatives on other subjects.

Bronxville, N.Y. DUNCAN BREMER

What a shame! In "Give Power to the Students" F. Reid Buckley has outlined the problem so well and his plan has so many merits that it is with great reluctance I maintain it simply can't work.

First of all, the plan is based upon a mighty shaky premise, to wit, that students at the age of seventeen possess the maturity and foresight to select the truly appropriate course for their future. Too many students—a considerable minority if not a majority—spend anywhere from the first year or two of college to the day they get their Ph.D. "finding themselves." Okay, make every student either pass a very rigid psychological/career-selection screening and abide by the results, or wait till he is over thirty before entering the academic statusphere.

Which leads me to the second obstacle. The education Establishment is largely composed of egalitarians, and, to the egalitarians, the very hint that everyone should not pursue the Grail of Scholarship is anathema. So who is going to administer the tests?

But, granting a miracle, the Buckley program still has one important drawback—it would rule out a good many disciplines in the humanities and fine arts, as Russell Kirk pointed out in his last column ["Who Should Pay for Higher Education?," May 18]. No one contemplating the outright pure chance professions (acting, writing, painting) or the extremely low-paying ones (teaching, journalism) could for a moment seriously consider assuming the necessary burden of indebtedness. Either the disciplines constituting the life-blood of these professions would cease to exist, or the students entering them would have to be subsidized. I haven't an iota of the faith Mr. Buckley has in the alumni—so, enter the state again. And could some areas be subsidized and others excluded? Assuming this also, would the willingness exist on the part of the tax-paying public to invest in what are too often regarded as "expendable" units in the educational whole? The requisite reshuffling of values is not in the cards.

Well, FRB has the problem pegged correctly and on that glorious day when we can start again from scratch I'll be among the first in line behind him.

San Francisco, Calif. NEIL G. BARCLAY

Stephen Kallis' article, "Leapfrogging the SST," was extremely ingenious, but it requires a few corrections. Mr. Kallis apparently expects to be able to use the first generation of space shuttles as commercial carriers, since he quotes "three-quarters of a decade" as a reasonable lead-time. However, these craft are expected to have a payload of only about 65,000 pounds. Even if the passengers could be converted into a syrupy liquid, so that they would completely fill the shuttle's cargo bay and no space would be wasted, the price of a one-way ticket, at the expected rate of $50 per pound, would be about $7,500. And these figures are for a shuttle making a one-shot, glider landing. Inclusion of jet engines, auxiliary equipment and fuel can cut the payload by as much as 60 per cent.

The solution is obviously to build a larger, more economical craft. But how large? The above figures are for a craft weighing 3.3 million pounds at lift-off, somewhat over half the take-off weight of a Saturn V. We are faced, therefore, not with building a DC-3 of space, but with the construction of a C-5A of space. This will probably take closer to thirty years than to seven, giving the SSTs until about 2001 to make money.

There are many other factors that make the shuttle, at least at this time, inferior to the SST: noise; maneuvering in the destination airport's traffic pattern; turn-around time (one of the major goals of the shuttle program is to cut maintenance time between missions to under two weeks. Compare this to an anticipated three hours for the Concorde). Clearly suborbital transport should be a successor to the SST, not an alternative to it.

Macon, Ga. R. N. BUTLER

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2 Money Disasters That Could Strike on Saturday

(one of them could happen sooner!)

18 defensive investments and 6 complete investment plans that investment consultant Harry Browne believes will make money for you *whether or not* these disasters strike.

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3. Silver coins. Numismatic value. Spending money. How much to keep in silver coins. Melting. Where to store. Where to buy.

4. Silver bullion. How to use leverage to buy. Who will sell you bullion.

5. Gold stocks. How this will profit you through 3 economic crises.

6. Retreat. Why you need one. How to acquire a safe one.

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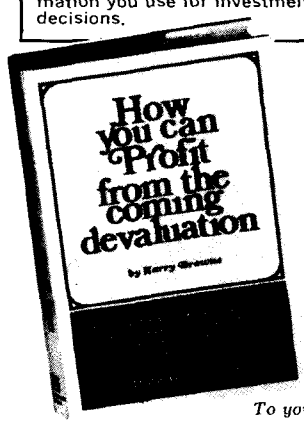

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Item	Amount of Money to be Used $5,000	$10,000	$20,000	$50,000	$100,000	$1,000,000
Cash in dollars						
Swiss francs						
Silver coins						
Silver bullion						
Gold stocks						
Retreat						
Other investments						

How much money would you allot to each investment? Write in your figures, then check with Harry Browne's advice on page 169 of HOW YOU CAN PROFIT FROM THE COMING DEVALUATION.

Investment	Inflation	Recession	Depression	Runaway Inflation	Devaluation
Bonds					
Cash, savings accounts					
Commodities					
Diamonds, etc.					
Gold bullion					
Gold coins					
Gold stocks					
Life insurance					
Mortgages					
Real estate, income					
Real estate, land					
Real estate, residential					
Retirement plans					
Short selling					
Silver bullion					
Silver coins					
Silver stocks					
Stocks, mutual funds					
Swiss francs					

What do you think of the chances for each investment during the 5 economic crises? Write in your answers, then check page 146 of How You Can Profit from the Coming Devaluation. Browne evaluates each one, grades it from "Very good" to "Worthless" and tells exactly why.

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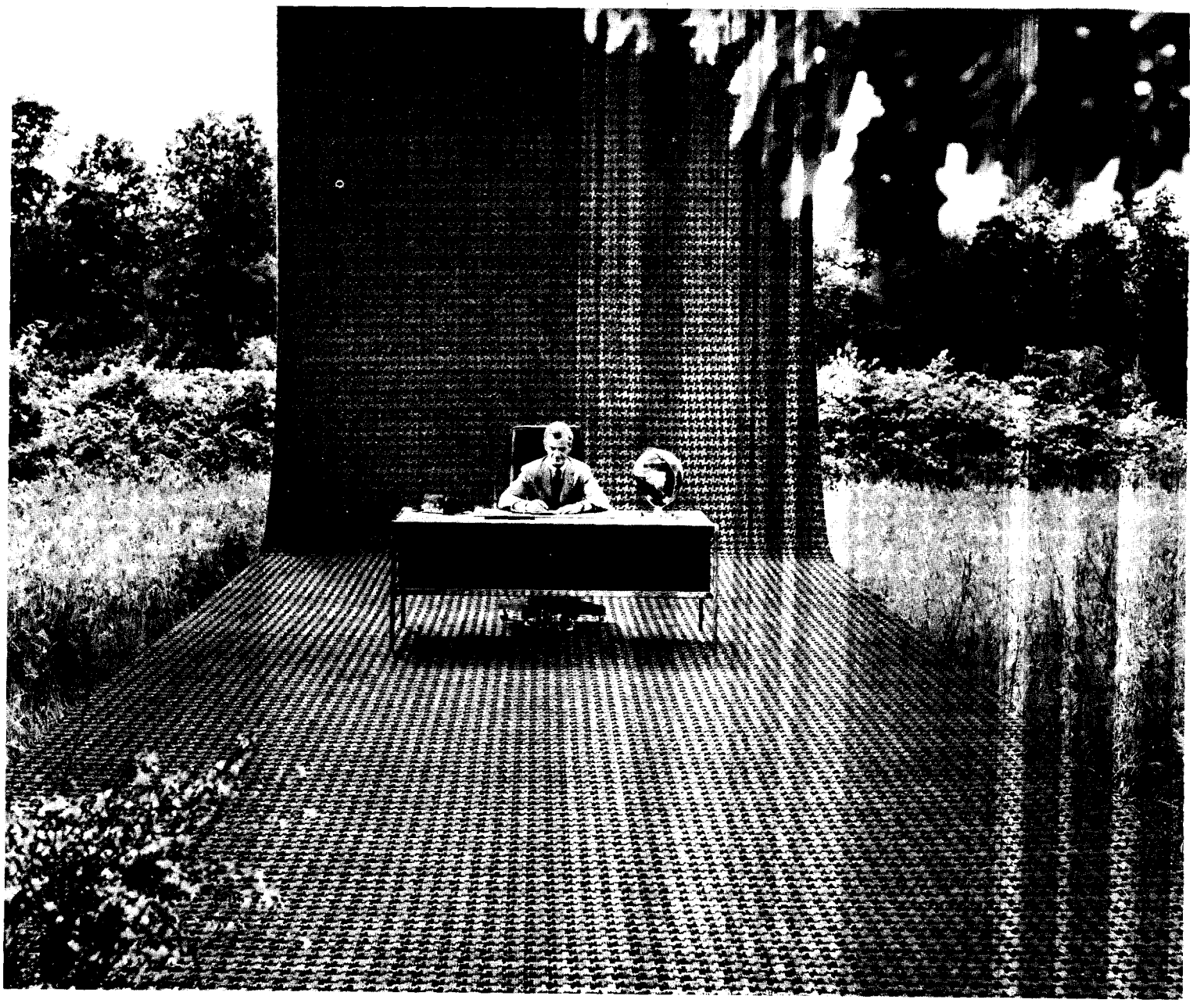

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S & L Interest Rates

You recently published an editorial ["Ralph Nader, Where Are You?," April 6] questioning the desire of the Savings and Loan business to maintain government imposed ceilings on the interest rates which could be paid on savings accounts and savings certificates. The article implies that Regulation Q ceilings amount to price fixing on the part of the Savings and Loan business.

It seems to me that NATIONAL REVIEW is, in this instance, expressing a view on a subject of which it has limited knowledge.

The Savings and Loan business has long been on record in favor of ceilings on savings accounts for a simple reason: We use savings placed with us (which are deposits available on immediate request) for investment in fixed-interest-rate, long-term mortgage loans. The concentration of our deposits in assets of this nature makes our institutions peculiarly vulnerable to the kind of sharp swings in interest rates that we have seen in the high-interest-rate, inflation-ridden economy of recent years. An abatement of inflation pressures would, of course, pave the way for greater stability in interest rates. But who is to say that price stability is close at hand?

Ideally, perhaps, no interest ceilings should be applied to either commercial banks or thrift institutions. At this particular time, however, it appears that these ceilings should be maintained. The time may come when different yield curves and lower interest rates, and perhaps even changes in the mortgage note itself, might make it possible to dispense with this type of control. These conditions do not appear likely in the immediate future.

WILLIAM B. O'CONNELL
Public Relations Counsel
United States Savings and Loan League
Chicago, Ill.

Mr. O'Connell agrees that ideally no interest rate ceilings should be applied to S & Ls or commercial banks. But if Mr. O'Connell will reread our remarks on the subject, he will discover that what we objected to was the push by the S & L trade associations to lower, *not just maintain, the rate ceilings, a development his letter, alas, conveniently ignores. To have difficult competitive decisions taken out of the hands of the individual S & L managers and placed in the hands of federal regulators is the surest way to deprive the public of the benefits of competition; which we favor.* —ED.

More Mau-Mauing

Hiram Caton's "Mau-Mauing at Penn State" [April 20] very accurately described the *Collegian* incident. I would, however, like to add an important footnote to Mr. Caton's story. The leader of the Black Student Union at Penn State was appointed to the Board of Collegian, Inc. only a few weeks after members of his organization destroyed several thousand copies of the *Daily Collegian.*

Yet, there was no mass response from the faculty or the students in the Penn State community. In addition, the administration has been quiet as a mouse about the whole incident.

State College, Pa. HARRY STRAPIK

Skill or Intellect?

Your editorial "More of the Same?" ["The Week," April 6], in reference to the recent Supreme Court ruling forbidding employers to use intelligence tests that tend to screen out blacks unless the tests can be shown to relate directly to the job in question, asks: "Could it not be legitimately argued that an individual so out of touch with the surrounding reality that he does not know the meaning of B.C. and cannot distinguish between simple words is clearly unfit to deal with complex and perhaps dangerous machinery?"

It has been my experience that this is not so. Since joining the Marine Corps I have met people who do not know the name of the President, much less what B.C. means; and whose every other word was obscene and who certainly don't know what "adept" means. Yet I have found those same persons perfectly capable of performing mechanical tasks not only satisfactorily, but with very impressive skill. At operating, cleaning, taking apart and repairing weapons and other mechanical systems they can be extremely deft. Evidently mechanical aptitude can indeed exist apart from more speculative knowledge.

Great Lakes, Ill. TIM BROWN

Three Cheers

Three cheers for J. D. Futch's review of *The American South* [April 6]. Although brief, his article is perhaps the best statement for the Southern position that I have seen in recent years. His views are a continuation of, and happy complement to, those expressed by the late Richard Weaver in *The Southern Tradition at Bay.*

The Monroe Lee Billingtons, the John Hope Franklins and their ilk—with the wide circulation that their writings are accorded in the academic community—make it increasingly difficult to maintain a balanced, and still "acceptable," opinion of the South.

Charlottesville, Va. LAWRENCE MCKENZIE

Your paragraph, "Relevant. RELEVANT. relevant. . . ." ["The Week," April 6] is the kind of wit that confirms my belief in the relevance of your magazine.

Miramonte, Calif. JOHN C. BENNET

Although not envious as a rule,
Von Dreele's brief verses make me drool
With envy for the deadly skill
With which he moves in for the kill!
By none is that ol' boy outclassed
In nailing phonies to the mast!

Las Vegas, N.M. S. OMAR BARKER

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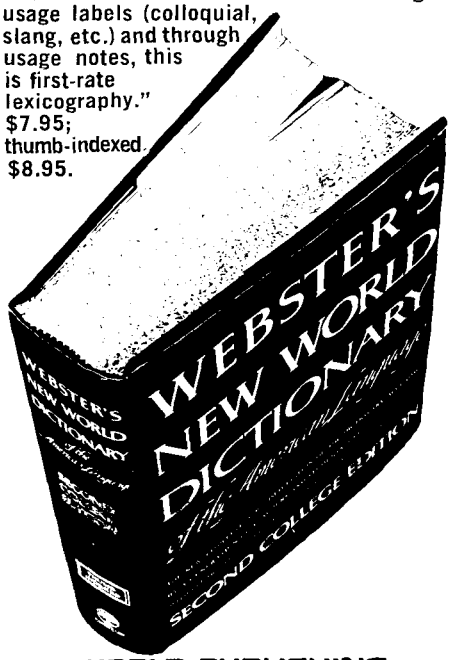

WORLD PUBLISHING
TIMES MIRROR

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FOR THE RECORD

■ Potshots from the Right at **Richard Nixon**. **American Conservative Union**, in its June *Battle Line*, comes out four-square for renomination of **Spiro Agnew** for Vice Presidency but says it will not now come out for renomination of President Nixon because some of his policies have "bitterly disappointed" conservatives. . . . **Young Americans for Freedom** at the moment backing **Ronald Reagan** for President; its national chairman **Ronald Docksai** says a Reagan for President headquarters will be opened in Houston in the fall. . . . The Reagan *v.* Nixon theme also played up in June *Forum* of the liberal Republican **Ripon Society**—but for different motives. Ripon would like to make trouble for Nixon because it finds him too conservative. Says the *Forum*: "He [Reagan] appears to be preparing for a dramatic entrance onto the stage in what may be the last major performance of his career." . . . Not sure whether he's sorry or glad: New York's junior Senator **James Buckley**, that his mail is outdrawing senior Senator **Jacob Javits**': Buckley's office reports between 1,200 and 1,500 letters a day, not only from New York State, but from most states in the Union. . . . Another junior legislator, California's radical **Ronald Dellums** (D.) has reported to his constituents that he's been busy too. He has, he says, introduced 35 pieces of legislation and co-sponsored an additional 63 in first hundred days in office. . . . Back home in San Mateo, a poll of businessmen shows Rep. **Paul McCloskey** not so popular. Sixty per cent criticized him, indicated they would prefer him to spend more time on their business and less running for President.

■ Scrapping over who owns the peace movement continues. *Militant* (Socialist Workers Party) deeply critical of **Communist Party** for sitting out the three months when April 24 was being plotted and then joining in only when it became apparent the demonstration was going to be a big one. Says the *Militant*: "The CP's attitude toward all the other mass movements is determined by its support for liberal capitalist politicians in general and the Democratic Party in particular." . . . Greater Boston **Peace Action Committee** reports it's in a jam (of $1,400 dimensions) because lots of checks it received from **SDS** and **Progressive Labor** (Maoist) members were returned marked "insufficient funds." One PL member told the Peace Committee he cancelled payment because their April 24 demonstration was "pro-government, not a peace rally." . . . **Socialist Workers Party**, incidentally, is flourishing: last week announced opening of two new branch offices in New York City. . . . But some of the freaks are not. At Washington and Lee, **Jerry Rubin**, invited to address several thousand students, had an audience of only two to three hundred, and most of them wandered off in the course of his obscenities. . . . Same scenario at a **Jane Fonda** do a week earlier at Madison College, Harrisonburg, Va. . . . One outgrowth of recent unprovoked attacks on New York policemen: legislation introduced into Congress by Sens. **James Eastland** (D., Miss.) and **Richard Schweicker** (R., Pa.) to make attacks on policemen and firemen a federal offense.

Mac, *London Daily Mail* Ben Roth Agency

■ President **Salvador Allende**'s government not only established diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union last week, it also did so with the Mongolian People's Republic, according to dispatches from Ulan Bator. . . . **Edmund Muskie** has come up with the reason why Red China must be allowed into the UN this fall: because its presence is "essential" for the 1972 World Conference on Environment in Stockholm. . . . Possible trouble for the Soviet supersonic TU-14 and the Anglo-French Concorde. Gov. **Rockefeller** is expected to sign legislation to authorize the New York environmental commissioner to set standards for maximum noise from any kind of activity. That could eliminate the SSTs from New York airports. . . . Canadian Premier **Trudeau** not all that swept off his feet by his reception in Moscow. Trudeau says, for instance, that he doesn't much go for the Soviet proposal for annual meetings between the two nations because "there's something unequal about the equation." . . . **Gustav Husak**'s warm greeting of **Leonid Brezhnev** last week might just have had something to do with the 80,000 Soviet troops still in Czechoslovakia.

■ Signs of the time: Two familiar titles on France's best-seller list. Numéro quatre: *La Dynastie des Forsyte* par **John Galsworthy**; Numéro six, *Love Story* par **Erich Segal**. . . . And in this country, in a recent *Popular Science* Magazine, instructions on installing a burglar alarm in your tent.

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THE WEEK

■ Hate to say it, but Amtrak isn't doing so good. For instance, its schedules call for eastbound passengers to transfer from a Santa Fe to a Missouri Pacific train at Kansas City. The Santa Fe train arrives at 5:35 A.M., five minutes after the Missouri Pacific has departed, causing passengers to endure a 23 hour and 55 minute layover. Then there's a nice mixup in Chicago: Amtrak published a toll-free number which patrons might dial for information on Burlington Northern trains. The number turned out to be that of the Greyhound Bus depot. So where's Mussolini now that we need him?

■ The defeat of the Mansfield Amendment was followed closely by more good news for NATO. The Defense Planning Committee of NATO has decided to increase naval strength in the Mediterranean to match the increase in the last few years of Soviet strength (American officials have reported that Soviet ship-days at sea increased from 650 in 1964 to twenty thousand last year). Some of the planned increases: the United States has promised to add another helicopter carrier to the Sixth Fleet and to improve electronic detection equipment aboard the Sixth Fleet's aircraft carriers; Britain has proposed that the "on-call" naval force composed of American, British, Italian, Greek and Turkish destroyers be made a permanent combat unit, instead of just deploying once or twice a year; Britain has also promised to place a six hundred man commando force on Malta, as a supplement to the U.S. Marines currently in the Mediterranean area.

■ Universities are in the forefront of the fight against pollution, right? Well, not quite. Last spring trustees of the University of Pennsylvania formed a committee on corporate responsibility to oversee the activities of all corporations in which the university holds stock. The idea was to keep the corporations honest on such matters as air pollution. But this year the trustees have decided to sell off most of the university's 33,363 shares in General Motors. The reason: they fear that stringent new safety and antipollution standards will cause a drop in GM profits.

■ "People around here often tell me that I should be proud that my son is being considered a possibility for President. They said the same when he ran as a Vice President. You know, I don't see anything wrong with the President we have." Josephine Muskie, Edmund's mother.

■ By his dazzling acrobatic display during the past month, UAR President Anwar Sadat, to the surprise of both enemies and friends, has proved himself a worthy successor to that champion high-wire artist, Gamal Abdel Nasser. First, in ring right, a graceful waltz with Secretary of State William Rogers under red-white-and-blue spots. Next a Mideastern-style catch-as-catch-can in the center arena, that ended with all Sadat's potential rivals, most particularly those whose hearts are located too far on the left, locked up in their cages, with the band playing the funeral dirge. Finally, ring left, to readjust the balance, a red carpet for the visitors bearing gifts from the East, and a fifteen-year treaty to remind the audience that an Egyptian ruler is happy to take from any outsider who will offer, so long as he stays on top at home.

■ Chile is still being careful to maintain formal neutrality, but her latest moves were toward Moscow. The Foreign Minister, Clodomiro Almeyda, has already signed agreements for the expansion of trade with the Soviet Union, and for Soviet technical aid on industrial projects. He is now trying to establish some form of "cooperation" with Comecon (the Soviet bloc's common market). If Chile is accepted as either a member or (like Yugoslavia, Cuba and North Korea) an observer, she will be the only country in Comecon that claims to be both neutral and not strictly Communist.

■ Early in May, our Greek correspondent writes, soccer teams were competing for the European Cup, and a Greek team was among those to reach the semifinals. In their game against a Yugoslavian team, the Greeks were nearly defeated, but came back to win 5 to 4. There was much jubilation in the streets of Athens: singing, dancing, drinking. Then, our correspondent writes, "the

Nearer My God to Thee

Three-quarters of the top two hundred companies in New York City are either moving or thinking of moving.
—*Time* Magazine

Just as on that historic winter night
When HMS *Titanic* settled down,
New Yorkers failed at first to see the blight
Or realize they're listing toward Downtown.
Some flee the island; some remain to drown.
Already, the illumination dims.
The Great White Way is fated to go brown
As Guy Lombardo fumbles through the hymns.
Watch as each "watertight" compartment brims,
Engulfing the remainder in the bow.
I wonder if the City Council swims?
Most live in Mineola, anyhow.
As I await the awful undertow,
I sit here tapping out "I told you so."

W. H. VON DREELE

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crowd, having mobbed the coach, the players and the Minister of Sports, decided to march to the house of the Prime Minister. I was present when the unruly crowd overpowered Papadopoulos' guards and carried him around on their shoulders for a full quarter of an hour." Interesting, isn't it, that a mere crowd could get past members of an armed force which, we are often told, is the Gestapo, the KGB and the CIA all rolled into one? That, having got the wicked tyrant out in the open, they did not tear him apart limb from limb? That they have not been back since with more sinister designs, now that they know they can do it?

■ The *New York Times* headline reads: "All But Thirteen of 570 POWs Refuse To Return to Hanoi." On the surface it looks pretty bad for Hanoi, but when you read the article you learn that, as usual, it's bad for us. The prisoners elected to stay in South Vietnamese jails just to embarrass the United States, which, by returning many North Vietnamese, hoped to bring world pressure on Hanoi to return U.S. POWs. Wily Hanoi saw through the plot and sent word to the prisoners to remain in jail. Thus no pressure on Hanoi and great embarrassment for Uncle Sam. Another interpretation, not quite as exciting as the vision of a flushed Nixon and Abrams, is that the North Vietnamese preferred jail to the People's Republic of Vietnam.

■ From Senator Gordon Allott: "Mr. President, I noticed several days ago that Professor John Kenneth Galbraith has endorsed the Presidential candidacy of the distinguished junior Senator from South Dakota. I would call to the attention of the distinguished Senator the fact that Galbraith's endorsement came approximately 170 weeks after Galbraith informed the world that the South Vietnamese government would collapse in two weeks."

■ According to a study by Penn State sociologist David Gottlieb, about a third of the thousands of young people who pass through the ranks of VISTA are radicalized. "VISTA is just a federally financed, $36 million a year 'hate Nixon' post-graduate school," said one Republican, accurately, last week. And so the Administration moved to "merge" VISTA with other do-good programs, put them together in one large bureaucratic unit, and, perhaps, drop the whole sack in the Potomac. To the outraged cries of Senator Jacob Javits on the Senate floor and the liberal media outside.

■ A friend of ours, with small children, has long dreamed of producing a documentary film on milk, from the verdant pastures of a modern dairy farm, the freshly painted barn with its gleaming, sterile equipment, the refrigerated trucks thundering to a dairy plant where the milk will be processed and sent along to the supermarket where it will be attractively displayed, until at last it reaches its destination on the dinner table, where a darling, fresh-scrubbed child will spill it. It's a pity, we think, that our friend is not more politically minded—imagine, if you would, a documentary film on The Story of a Tax Dollar: from the moment it is actually earned by some poor slob, till the feds grab it, till it is squandered, wasted or simply disappears; or Your Bureaucracy in Action, from the day the XYZ Agency is initiated with a $10,000 appropriation, until the XYZ agency has more personnel than Dayton, Ohio has people, and is going through $2 billion a year, easily. Maybe such true-life stories are so old-hat they don't need documenting; but we doubt it. Roll 'em.

■ TAKE IT TO THE FTC? Out in Illinois, Circuit Court Judge Samuel Shamberg had to watch the movie *101 Ways of Love* to determine whether it was obscene. "Definitely and utterly," said the Judge—besides which, "I only counted seven ways."

Dump FAP

President Nixon is missing an opportunity—and it should have proved irresistible—to disavow the welfare scheme now emerging from his original proposals for the reform of the system. As originally presented, the Nixon proposals involved substituting the Family Assistance Plan for the entire jerry-built welfare structure. A tortuous route, however, has been traveled since. Congress began by adding to the Nixon proposals much of the older welfare mechanism (including the Food Stamp program). Then the Administration tinkered further with the FAP, marginally strengthening it. Now the House Ways and Means Committee, under Chairman Wilbur Mills, acting under intense pressure from the welfare lobby, and, no doubt, from Mills' own budding Presidential ambitions, has altered the bill so that, far from reforming the system, it would in fact add millions to the welfare rolls and billions to the welfare budget, strengthen the welfare bureaucracy and the welfare lobby, weaken the already tenuous work requirement, and encourage individual states to inflate welfare payments grossly.

The original Nixon proposal called for a welfare recipient to accept "suitable" employment. Such employment had been defined as paying at least $1.20 per hour. Under the Mills alteration, employment would not be suitable unless it paid at least three-fourths of the minimum wage, soon to be raised to $2 per hour. This means that a welfare recipient, able-bodied and idle, could refuse a job paying $1.45 per hour as unsuitable.

Much worse, under some complex clauses of the Mills revisions, the Federal Government would apparently be responsible for all future increases in state welfare payments. Under the earlier version, the state paid everything in excess of the $2,400 federal payment. If Mills' revision does commit the government to such open-ended largesse, no more gross incentive for state irresponsibility

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LETTER FROM WASHINGTON

House Speaker Carl Albert finds himself in a difficult situation early in his new job. His advocacy of a House Office Building has put his prestige in some jeopardy.

In a shrewdly timed move just before the Memorial Day recess, Albert announced that he would ask the House Appropriations Committee to delete the $30 million allotted for construction of the Madison Library, a long-planned annex to the overcrowded Library of Congress, and instead fund the new office building.

The Appropriations Committee, meeting on the day after the recess, left little time for opponents of a new House Office Building to rally their forces since few congressmen remained in Washington. Albert had, however, stepped on many toes. Representative George Andrews (D., Ala.), whose Appropriations subcommittee had done the laborious preliminary work on the Library of Congress building, is angry and ready to fight the Speaker.

Albert has also alienated some Republicans. In trying to dramatize the office-space crisis, he served what amounted to eviction notices on numerous congressmen occupying supplementary or temporary offices in such places as the government-owned Congressional Hotel. Virginia's Joel Broyhill and others reacted strongly. Some have told Albert they won't move.

■ One of President Nixon's "floater" candidates for Vice President will be California Governor Ronald Reagan. Reagan is not interested in the Vice Presidency, and indeed most of his conservative associates see him primarily as a counterbalance to Nixon at the 1972 convention. But reliable sources report that Reagan's trip to the Far East in October will be used by the Administration in much the same way the feelers for Treasury Secretary John Connally went out in April: to test the waters in areas crucial to Nixon's reelection strategy and to keep all the Vice Presidential options open until the last possible moment.

Reagan's Far Eastern trip began as a trade mission. The Governor was to visit Japan at the invitation of a trade commission interested in expanding its markets in California. Reagan, in the course of a conversation with President Nixon, mentioned his planned Oriental trip and asked if there were any service he could perform. Nixon responded by inviting Reagan to represent the United States at the Chinese National Day celebrations on Formosa October 10.

The timing of the Reagan visit to Taipei is significant. The October celebration is the most important of the Nationalist Chinese holidays. Reagan, an important emissary from the United States, will bolster his stock at home as a knowledgeable exponent of a strong foreign policy and hence as a possible Vice Presidential candidate.

One school of thought has the President sending Reagan to Formosa because he wants a strong conservative in the Far East at the time the U.S. is making a major effort to fight Communist China's admission to the UN. Another school believes that Reagan is being sent to placate Chiang as U.S. policy toward Peking becomes notably warmer.

■ One factor causing considerable worry among backers of the Nationalist Chinese: The President's recent adoption of "Taiwan" as his name for the Nationalist Chinese government. The semantic shift almost certainly signifies that the United States no longer ardently supports the government of Chiang Kai-shek as "the government of China." But sources close to the President report that the semantic attrition does not mean any decrease in real support, either military or economic. Just what kind of treatment Taipei will get from the United States in the United Nations remains to be seen.

—CATO

---

could be imagined. Yet the Nixon Administration is backing the Mills scheme.

Governors Reagan and Rockefeller, closer to the problem and sensing the mood of the public, have made alternative proposals. In California, for example, one out of nine citizens is presently on welfare; by 1972, if present trends hold, the figure will be one in seven. The Governor knows whereof he speaks.

The proposal he has presented makes the fundamental distinction between relatively permanent welfare recipients—the blind, the aged and the seriously disabled—and those who are potentially employable. The permanent recipients would be removed from the present welfare structure and their checks would be sent automatically—no small benefit here being the instant elimination of many "social workers," who constitute a powerful element in the welfare lobby. The potentially employable would be expected to find jobs or take job training, or, if all else failed, to work on useful local and state projects—child-care, conservation work, park maintenance etc.—or else be cut from the welfare rolls. The eligibility qualifications for the Aid to Dependent Children program would be redrawn to insure that only the genuinely needy would receive payments. The Reagan approach recognizes the fundamental fact about the vast expansion of the welfare rolls in recent years: The present system creates "poverty"—very elastically defined—by subsidizing it. It also brings into being pressure groups and assorted poverty prospectors devoted to the preservation and expansion of the system: the National Welfare Rights Organization, the National Association of Social Workers, the American Public Welfare Association etc. In numerous ways, the Reagan plan would close the loopholes now used so flagrantly to swell the welfare rolls. Listen to the Governor:

> Those who oppose welfare reform say that welfare fraud amounts to only 1 or 2 per cent of the total number of cases.
>
> The facts are that no one really knows. No one really knows how many people in the United States are receiving welfare. We know how many checks are mailed out but we do not know how many individuals are getting several checks under different names, in the same community, in the same state, or even whether they are receiving several checks from several states.
>
> Recently in the San Francisco Bay area a group of citizens found out how easy it is to get on welfare. Some of them managed to get on the rolls as many as four times in one day in a single office.

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In Nevada, which is small enough to make a house-to-house check, it was learned that 22 per cent of the welfare recipients were ineligible.

And some time ago, a welfare-conducted investigation in the District of Columbia turned up less than 2 per cent of fraud. A congressional investigation later determined that it was closer to 57 per cent.

Governor Rockefeller, who has seen the light on welfare, is reported to have observed a short time ago that Reagan is the only political leader around who knows anything about welfare. It is not too late for President Nixon to join him. The President should reconsider the nominal support he has given to the Mills monstrosity. Far from reforming the present system, the Mills plan would multiply its flaws, automatically expand the welfare rolls, and add grievously to the burdens of the Silent Majority that elected Nixon in the first place. If the Democrats want to run as the champions of Big Welfare in 1972, why, let them.

Ron, Ron, Where Are You?

Colette and Ed Dowling are writers, and live in a $231 per month New York apartment. If you read the *New Republic*, for whatever reason, you will have seen several pieces by Ed there of late. Ed is also finishing a book, and in-between times—instead of his old $300-per-week job—he is experimenting with his "life-style," working as a carpenter's helper, manual laborer and so forth because, well, he likes it that way. Colette's articles appear here and there, most recently, for instance, in *New York* Magazine, and she has a book coming out soon called *Skin Game*, an investigation of the cosmetics industry.

What do you know, on the very day Colette's editor at Lippincott phoned to tell her that she had to run down to Philadelphia right away to tape a TV show promoting her new book, guess what happened. Ed applied for welfare.

And got it! So far he and Colette have received five checks totaling $540. Well, anyway, Colette zipped down to Philly, registered at the Hilton, ordered a $12 roast beef dinner and made her tape, so it was a red-letter day for all concerned. Even though the Welfare Department, according to a spokesman, is now looking into the matter "to see if they are indeed eligible."

As Ernest Hemingway used to say, "How do you like that, gentlemen?" Things have certainly changed for writers since the early Twenties in Paris.

1972 Campaign

The Nixon campaign for re-election moved, significantly enough, southward, as the President invaded Wallace country, turning out enthusiastic crowds of sixty thousand in Mobile and a hundred thousand in Birmingham. The message to Governor Wallace, who greeted the President as Air Force One arrived at Mobile, could not have been plainer: Nixon has plenty of support in the South, even in the deepest South of all, and taking him on there will not be a soft touch. Elsewhere, Nixonian moves were designed for a quite different constituency: the rhetoric about a "new era" emerging from the SALT talks, ping-pong pressure toward at least an "interim" Middle East settlement, a nudging of the economy upward. The President, said a Nixon aide quoted in *Time*, is spreading himself so broadly across the middle of the road that "you've got to go into the ditches to get around him."

Nor, you may be sure, has it escaped the appraising eyes of White House strategists that Teddy appears to be making preparations to cross still another bridge, this time, at an opportune moment, to Presidential candidacy. He has been touring the country holding hearings on medical care, he has touched base with Mayor Richard Daley, and now two long-time Kennedy retainers, Pierre Salinger and Frank Mankiewicz, have attached themselves to George McGovern. This last item is particularly interesting, for both Salinger and Mankiewicz are bright enough to know that McGovern's chances of becoming President are approximately zero. The McGovern "candidacy," therefore, looks more and more like a holding operation, he to be replaced in due course by EMK.

Speaking in Bloomington, Minnesota, however, Gene McCarthy surprisingly positioned himself marginally to the *right* of the other Democratic players (except for Henry Jackson). No, McCarthy does not want an immediate Vietnam bugout. That would "invite chaos" in the area, would be "counterproductive" and would constitute an "abdication of responsibility." McCarthy wants negotiation and a political settlement, whatever that might mean. And just to make life more interesting for his Democratic colleagues, he hinted that he was thinking of leading a third party in 1972 for "a new policy and a true America."

The Elizabeth and Phil Show

With the release by the Department of Justice of the McAlister-Berrigan correspondence, all sorts of compensatory reactions have become obligatory for the media. Thus the *Times* had to protect the Good Catholic image of the correspondents by censoring out their references concerning "affairs," to Kissinger's "shack[ing] up" (*NR*, May 18). Last month the *New Yorker* produced its own mediamorphosis, to employ an Agnewism.

In "The Talk of the Town," the May 15 issue addresses itself at length to the appearance of the letters, first heavily ridiculing the kidnap scheme ("Kissinger would probably treat the affair as a congenial rest from his oppressive duties"), then arguing that Weathermen, Panthers and the Chicago Seven are much less virulent than the "repressive" U.S. Government itself, and con-

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cluding with this fascinating sentence: "Or is this latest charge against these bumbling dreamers merely another bit of evidence that the government must have a conspiracy—any kind of conspiracy—to silence the opposition?"

Comment: Okay, the *New Yorker* is saying, there was a conspiracy. We are forced by these letters to back away from the position that Hoover and Mitchell made the thing up out of whole cloth. But—and watch carefully here—McAlister and Berrigan are "bumbling dreamers," not the acute moral realists they have been presented as being, not the perceptive few who grasp the reality of our time more fully than the likes of Nixon and Kissinger. Quixotes. Woolheads. Bumbling dreamers. But this view trips over the letters themselves, which are very knowing and worldly, full of sophisticated innuendo and with-it talk. Not at all the products of "dreamers."

We sympathize with those who are wrestling with the difficulties involved here.

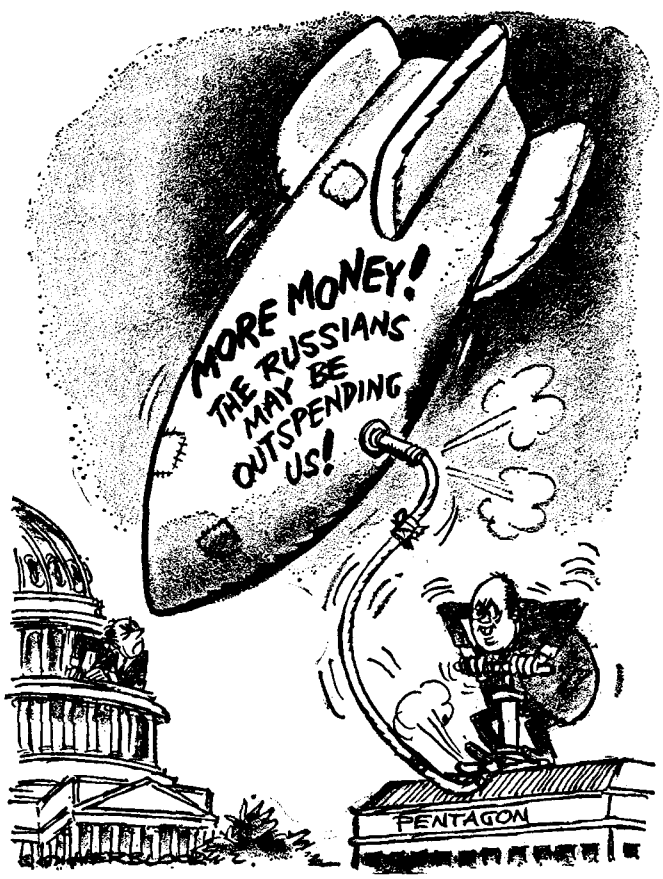
Overture at Harrisburg

Philip Berrigan is the one who will get most of the attention, now that he and six others have been duly arraigned, and the Harrisburg Eight trial heads for the starting gate. He is the best-known, he is already in jail, and he dominates the scene, physically. He also has those eyes that you get used to on the Christian far Left: wearied, but with a hard glint behind them. (He is also capable of saying things like "I can't relate to that indictment.")

Beyond looking at the cast, there wasn't much else to do at the arraignment. Sister Elizabeth McAlister has, for friends, a sweet, crinkly smile, combined with a nunnish charm (though the only trace of the convent life evident is a silver cross on her lapel). The blending is irresistible. She is all those parts Loretta Young used to play. She will be the one making the public appearances, it is safe to say. Eqbal Ahmad looks cold, contained and arrogant; the Scoblicks look quiet and simple: You wonder what they are doing here.

The proceedings are also quiet, almost inaudible. One by one they stand. They speak quietly. The defense attorney speaks quietly. The government attorney speaks quietly. Only the clergy (trained for the pulpit) and Judge Herman (facing the spectators) can be heard. But enough comes through to realize what the pattern will be: Each refuses to plead, and for each the judge enters, as the law then requires, a plea of "not guilty." There is

Which Herblock Do You Read?



The Intergovernmental Ballistic Balloon

"Now then—you were telling me something about a troublesome bear cub"

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only one small dramatic interlude. John Swinglish, who is being charged with contempt, attempts to plead "guilty in the name of the FBI, the Attorney General, the B-52s in Vietnam . . . ," but he is quickly stopped.

The spectators are well-disciplined and seem to be composed entirely of media people, nuns (three or four), and Movement types: Movement clothes, Movement buttons, Movement hugs are the order of the day. To them, the indictments are secondary. The issue is the war, the *war*, the WAR.

Now there will be three months of judicial quiescence. The leaves, and the fur, will fly in Harrisburg at roughly the same time.

S. M. SMITH

Paul VI: Octogesima Adveniens

The apostolic letter released by the Vatican last month endeavors to introduce some sobriety into the Catholic discussion of social problems, a highly audible portion of which has recently been on a sentimental binge, or, perhaps, on a night flight to Hanoi. The epistle, coinciding with the eightieth anniversary of *Rerum Novarum*, and beginning with the words "*Octogesima Adveniens* . . ." is clearly intended as a major Vatican statement, more or less equal in weight to an encyclical. We note that its bearing is thoroughly traditional, not to say conservative. Some high points:

1) The importance of creativity at the local level to counter the rootlessness and anomie of urban life: "There is an urgent need to remake, at the level of the street, of the neighborhood, of the great agglomerative dwellings the social fabric whereby man may be able to . . . escape from isolation and form new fraternal relationships."

2) An affirmation of women's equality, but, importantly, equality as women: "We do not have in mind that false equality which would deny the distinctions laid down by the Creator Himself and which would be in contradiction with woman's proper role, at the heart of the family, as well as within society."

3) Unequivocal condemnation of Marxist dogma. The Christian "cannot adhere to the Marxist ideology, to its atheistic materialism, to its dialectic of violence and to the way it absorbs individual freedom in the collectivity, at the same time denying all transcendence to man and his personal and collective history." Despite the various aspects presented by Marxism, Pope Paul warns that "it would be illusory and dangerous to reach a point of forgetting the intimate link which radically binds them together, to accept the elements of Marxist analysis without recognizing their relationships with ideology, and to enter into the practice of class struggle and its Marxist interpretations while failing to note the kind of totalitarian and violent society to which this process leads."

4) But, at the same time, also condemning the abstract and reductive individualism which considers "social solidarities as more or less automatic consequences of individual initiatives," and going on to observe that at the root of such individualism "is an erroneous affirmation of the autonomy of the individual in his activity, his motivation, and the exercise of his liberty."

Well, Magistra, Sí!—to which sentiment, who knows, even the *National Catholic Reporter* may now feel able to subscribe, having finally eased out Robert G. Hoyt, its pop-radical editor.

What Am I?

My nose is long like Cyrano's.
My legs are stilt-like in repose.
I love the proletariat.
The stratosphere's my habitat.
I fly, and with my delta wing,
Boy, I can fly like anything.
Exhaust-wise, I emit no smoke;
Noise-wise, my fanjets don't provoke.
I'm 27 million thou,
But you can haggle with me now.
Japan, America, Peru:
I'll soon be flying over you.

W. H. VON DREELE

There Oughta Be a Law. Or Ought There?

During the past few weeks, would-be home buyers in numerous parts of the country have had their mortgage applications held up. The blockade has been manned by bank lawyers struggling to interpret the potential pitfalls of a new and obscure piece of legislation, the Fair Credit Reporting Act. At the same time Senators Proxmire and Brooke have introduced yet another round of complex legislation, the Fair Credit Billing Act, which they promise will protect the victims of computerized billing foul-ups and easy-credit gyp artists.

We are all familiar, some of us distressingly so, with the idiocies that characterize a small fraction of credit investigations and computerized billing systems. However, as the current crop of frustrated home buyers is finding out, making laws supposedly on the consumers' behalf somehow often turns a good intention into a major headache. Some legislative ventures in this field seem to result in nothing more than increased costs and a narrower range of choice for the consumer, while they spawn a large number of bureaucrats, several hundred pages of practically incomprehensible regulations, and employment for the legions of lawyers who are required to decipher them.

We may cite here the Truth in Lending Act, which provides, among other things, that anyone who extends

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credit must state the effective annual interest rate, and lays down rules regarding the advertising of credit. That sounds straightforward enough, unless you happen to be a businessman. How do you handle cash discounts? Agricultural credit? Variable interest-rate plans? How can the mathematics of credit terms be advertised in words understandable to the Average Consumer?

There does appear to be a need to establish some sort of legal accountability for those organizations that go in for demonstrably injurious trickery. But, rather than extending that into a bewildering and stultifying web of legislative and regulatory dos and don'ts, a better route to consumer protection would be through the encouragement of innovation and competition in granting credit—along with the recognition that no matter how many laws are passed, flim-flam operators and suckers will always be with us.

The reason why this route is unattractive to so many self-proclaimed protectors of the consumer is the fact that their real objective is, in the words of one of Truth in Lending's leading congressional sponsors, "to discourage those who can't afford it" from going into debt. When asked what would happen if, in spite of Truth in Lending, such persons (i.e., principally the poor) still did go in over their heads, the reply was that "further legislation might be called for." In other words, Big Daddy in Washington will decide who can and who can't run up a bill. While that exercise may not be mentioned in the Constitution, we like to think that the freedom to enter into contracts is one of man's inalienable rights, however painful it may prove at the end of the month.

The Nobility of Human Nature

"Prague, May 25—Gustav Husak, the Czechoslovak Communist Party leader, opened the long-delayed Fourteenth Congress of his party today with praise for the invasion of his country by Warsaw Pact nations in August 1968. A packed convention hall exploded in cheers and the rhythmic chanting of 'Long Live the Soviet Union!' as Mr. Husak, who replaced Alexander Dubcek as party chief, turned to thank the Soviet party leader, Leonid I. Brezhnev. Mr. Brezhnev stood to return the applause of nearly 1,200 delegates, 1,500 guests, and the leaders of East Germany, Poland, Bulgaria and Hungary."

In Book Three of *Gulliver's Travels*, the hero visits the kingdom of Trildrogdrib, an oriental tyranny. "A messenger was dispatched half a day's journey before us, to give the King notice of my approach, and to desire that his Majesty would please to appoint a day and hour, when it would be his gracious pleasure that I might have the honor to *lick the dust before his footstool.* This is the court style, and I found it to be more than a matter of form. For upon my admittance two days after my arrival, I was commanded to crawl upon my belly, and lick the floor as I advanced; but on account of my being a stranger, care was taken to have it so clean that the dust was not offensive. However, this was a peculiar grace, not allowed to any but persons of the highest rank, when they desire an admittance. Nay, sometimes the floor is strewn with dust on purpose, when the person to be admitted happens to have powerful enemies at court. And I have seen a great lord with his mouth so crammed, that when he had crept to the proper distance from the throne, he was not able to speak a word. Neither is there any remedy, because it is capital for those who receive an audience to spit or wipe their mouths in his Majesty's presence. There is indeed another custom, which I cannot altogether approve of. When the King hath a mind to put any of his nobles to death in a gentle indulgent manner, he commands to have the floor strowed with a certain brown powder, of a deadly composition, which being licked up infallibly kills him in twenty-four hours. . . ."

Thomas Dodd, R I P

Except that he has left a devoted wife, and six children, the death of Thomas Dodd came with a classicist's appreciation of timing. Not only had he just been defeated for political office, he bore the huge mortal stigma of censure, censure by the exclusive club whose anathemas are so hauntingly resonant. Joe McCarthy never recovered from it, and neither, really, did Senator Dodd, even though fair-minded men agreed that he was a circumstantial victim, that he was censured by the Senate because, in the world of speeders, it merely happened that he was the one caught going just beyond the speed limit, blithely, genuinely unaware that he was committing a formal offense.

How quickly he was deserted by his old friends! (Is there anyone less loyal to his friends than Lyndon Johnson?) His critics went after him zestfully, because he occupied, in the Senate, roughly speaking the position that Senator Pat McCarran had occupied: the anti-Communist who spoke catonically about the necessity to keep up one's guard, to prosecute vigorously what opportunities we had to shed light on the activities of the enemy, and to counteract. Although his record was otherwise impeccable—he prosecuted Ku Kluxers, served at the right hand of Justice Jackson in prosecuting the Nazi leaders; he voted for all the civil-rights bills, proposed anti-gun laws, drug-control laws; he voted for all the welfare bills:—still, he committed the crime of excessive anti-Communism, and it is unrealistic to suppose that he would have been prosecuted as zestfully by the muckrakers, except that he was guilty of that sovereign offense.

Toward the end, manifestly, he began to lose interest in public life. His race as a third-party candidate for the Senate was listless, and it isn't even known whether

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he took more votes away from the Democratic liberal Joseph Duffey, or from the moderate (and triumphant) Republican Lowell Weicker. He simply disappeared from the scene: and died. The history books are not likely to take much notice of him, but his true friends, the generality of millions whose oppressors he denounced, the particular community who know the work he did in the cause of antitotalitarianism, will accept him, have accepted him, in the community of the constant, as one who recognized the distinctive hideousness of the enemy, and pledged his life, and his career, in opposition to him.

OGDEN NASH, R I P

See Ogden— You Can Get There from Here

But whether they will let you stay, if you insist upon remarking to some high-choired angel,
"I'm a strangel
Here myself;" or writing some outlandish whimsey in the Reception Book of St. Peter, say
Like, "This disembodied spirit business is fine, but whom do I see about getting back my old feter clay?"
Or submitting for publication something pleasing, no doubt, to the ASPCA but in the very poorest theological taste, e.g., one of your otherwise irresistible pieces of Nashian elision
About the Birds and the Beeatific Vision;
Or, if that doesn't satisfy you, (no doubt it won't: a man who in mortal life did not shrink from rhyming *petunia* with *Pennsylvunia*, or *parsley* with *gharsley*, obviously will not consider it 100% Heaven unless he can find an appreciative audience, preferably God,
For a poem that ends with something like *Considering all the fat cats playing golf up here, I was obviously mistaken to take too literally Your rather scary statement about their passing through the eye of a needle being so hod.*),
Getting Francis Thompson and St. Thomas Aquinas into a sticky *Quaestio Disputata* about the Hound of Heaven and the *Summum Bonum*,
(I suppose if you can't get in to see such top echelon *personae*, you can always phonum.),
Is open to question. Meanwhile good luck with the Celestial Traffic Court that hauls you in for tooling around Paradise at the speed of light verse, while in an inebriated (up there I believe one calls it *ecstasy*) condition, and for cutting off the likes of Homer, Virgil, Dante, Shakespeare, Milton, Goethe, Keats, Hopkins, Whitman, Thomas, Eliot, etc., your bumper sticker
Flying: A BODY WAS DANDY BUT LIQUOR (i.e., SPIRITS) IS QUICKER.

JOHANNES EFF

Notes & Asides

■ Occupant
150 E. 35 St.
N.Y.

Sir: As a short-term subscriber to your mag, and as a recent graduate from the silent majority, I offer a few words on your recent fare:

1. In the cassette tape of the Cambridge Union Debate, Professor Galbraith used the word, *paridigram*. Unless this is some new cabalistic design to control demons, I would suggest that the good professor a) buy a dictionary, b) look up the word, *paradigm*, and see if that is more like what he had in mind, c) in future, have his ghost-writer use simpler words.

2. Your remarks on Mr. Ifshin and the National Student Association were noted with interest. I have inquired of my alma mater whether they are still affiliated with the NSA as they were in my undergraduate days; I am not sure what to do if the answer is in the affirmative; probably not send money.

3. Your article on Sen. Hartke and the POWs noted likewise. Sen. Hartke's office replied to my inquiry, saying the remarks were quoted out of context. Congressman Terry replied to my other inquiry enclosing a transcript of the tape. Not very far out, they weren't!

4. The review of Ramsey Clark's magnum opus was most interesting. I went so far as to buy the book, and sure enough! Together with Mayor Daley, he rises "to higher and higher platitudes." As to the probability of being the victim of a crime, enough has already been said, so having only a BS in Mathematics I won't force my 2¢ on you. I wouldn't carry much more than that in downtown Washington, either.

5. I saw your appearance on *Laugh-In*, but since I don't normally watch more than ten minutes of it at a stretch, it was necessarily a brief appearance. I share Mr. Hitchcock's views on the show, however, namely that it is inane and vulgar and so forth. I have been predicting its downfall for two years now, and suppose I must share the farsightedness of Trotsky in that none of my predictions has yet come true. (Or was it your *brother* on *Laugh-In*??)

In short, a very favorable first impression. Congratulations to you and all your accomplices.

Yours,
William H. Wingo
P.O., Box 254
Shalimar, Florida

■ Dear Mr. Buckley:

I hardly know how to thank you for the generosity that you displayed by inviting me to lunch with you and Miss Buckley, to look at the drawings of a seventeen

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Memo to: You (if you do not now get

the Bulletin regularly)

Re: something new, something free -- an

"opportunity you won't want to miss"

"I just can't understand that," said this friend of mine (who knows the news business well). "With such a fantastically high renewal rate, why do you have any trouble finding new people to try it?"

I dunno, I told him (and I tell you too), but we do. Fact is, a great many of you have never tried the NR Bulletin* at all. Evidently I am only being accurate in saying that you don't know what you're missing, because those select friends who do try it love it, thus producing the impressive renewal statistics which so fascinated my friend. He said: "You're doing something wrong. Don't try to make them subscribe, just get them to try it -- the Bulletin will sell itself. Send 'em each a free copy, why don't you? Tell 'em 'here's an opportunity you won't want to miss' -- that kind of thing. You know." OK, he wins, and so do you. Just fill out and return the card facing this page.

It not only entitles you to a cut-rate introductory subscription to the Bulletin, it offers you an extra free issue to begin with. Here's the idea: you look over that free issue when it arrives; if you're not satisfied, then, when the bill arrives, just return it to us in the envelope provided, marked "Not satisfied: cancel" -- and we'll send no more copies. So you pay nothing (don't send check with order -- we'll bill you later) and risk nothing. Why do we make such a crazy offer, in which all the risk, etc., is ours? Simply because we're convinced you'll love the Bulletin, and are willing to put our faith to the test. The least you can do is take us up on it. OK?

*The Bulletin is the fortnightly newsletter published by National Review, Inc. (it appears on those weeks when the magazine itself is not published).

*The Bulletin specializes in short, crisply-written news items often "overlooked" by the regular press. The most popular section is "People" because it prints so much inside information about political personalities. M. Stanton Evans writes a column on national affairs. "Winston" is the pseudonym for the Bulletin's secret super-scoop who reports from Washington on the latest goings-on in the White House and on Capitol Hill.

*James Burnham edits a special "Abroad" column that features fascinating, unusual stories from overseas. The Bulletin packs a wealth of facts and information into a fast-reading, tightly-edited 8-page format. You should be reading the Bulletin regularly.

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year old. I do not doubt that during the course of the luncheon you said to yourself, "Young Burch seems to be quite a dullard. This fellow has to be one of the most crashing bores of all times." I could hardly dissent from that opinion myself. As I think back on the affair all I can recall saying was a rather appalling flow of cheap platitudes. I am not so reticent as I appeared that day. I think this sudden attack of the doldrums can be readily explained however. Have you ever read "No. 2 The Pines" by Max Beerbohm? When Max tells of his first visit to see Swinburne I think his own trepidation was analogous to my own fear. I dreaded entering the inner sanctum of NATIONAL REVIEW, let alone meeting the guiding hands of that periodical. You may remember that Max was silent the entire time he ate with Swinburne, so it was with me. The fear of great persons is common to all men I believe. So please forgive me if I seemed like a bungler. As regards Miss Bronson, if you are wise, Sir (as you indeed are), you shall give the lady a raise and a long tenure. Petronius once said, "RARAM FECIT MIXTURAM CUM SAPIENTIA FORMA": Miss Bronson combines both of these attributes most agreeably. The lunch had some disastrous side effects. When I related the affair to a comrade in school I little dreamed that I was being overheard by two of the school's most ardent socialists (both girls). Sir, I can think of nothing more repulsive than a female social activist (particularly of the socialist variety). One of these Bolshevixens immediately sailed into a Philippic on Conservatism. I escaped the tender mercies of these two crazed females only to be called a liar by a friend. He seemed incredulous that *I* should have lunch with *you*. I decided to show him your autograph in *The Governor Listeth*, to which he replied, "Come off it! That squiggly line, an autograph?!! That looks more like your scrawl." I looked at the signature in question. I found it hard to believe that you had signed it yourself. If you'll pardon me, you might try printing in the future. However, I'm content. Who needs friends? Who cares about being tarred and feathered by two female harpies? Not me certainly. I'd gladly be boiled in oil just to have had that lunch. My only regret is that our first meeting did not take place in a booksellers. You doubtless recall Dr. Johnson's first meeting with Boswell took place in Mr. Davies' book shop. Perhaps we could have an annual meeting as the good Doctor and James did.

Perhaps you, the Sage of Sharon, can explain this mystery to me. Why does our school system produce such rabble? There are such wonderful opportunities to create "the complete man." Instead, what do we find? A mutinous half-educated mob. The schools take a mind and cram it with bad books, vapid thoughts, and vacuous philosophy. They take a vacuum and fill it with a void.

Enclosed you will find a great many more pictures. You will also find a cigar cutter enclosed as well. I noticed that you "*bit*"! the end off your cigar. It hardly becomes a man of your stature to be seen biting his cigar.

I never had the opportunity to tell you how much I enjoy your writing. Two of my favorite essays are "Why Don't We Complain?" and "Middle-Class Values." It seems that you often write at your best on nonpolitical subjects. At these times your style becomes like Hilaire Belloc's. "Middle-Class Values" was a masterpiece of invective while "Why Don't We Complain?" brought memories of Chesterton, Beerbohm and Morley to mind. Thank you again for that marvelous lunch. As always, Sir,

I remain your most humble and obedient servant,

Michael Burch

Punch

■ Dear William: I must commend you for your frequent comments in behalf of Israel.

However you do have one small fault in this area in that you occasionally mention the arab refugees and the occupied arab land. If you would purge such thoughts from your conscience, or rationalize away the need to mention them, I am sure you would then be perfect.

With regards
Uncle Screwtape
(P.G. Michael
Winterville, Ohio)

—WFB

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JAMES BURNHAM

The Protracted Conflict

WHAT LANGUAGE DO YOU SPEAK?

On the night of May 21 two New York City policemen, Joseph Piagentini and Waverley Jones, drove their patrol car to Colonial Park Houses in Harlem, and went in to check a "routine call" from "a woman resident" (my quotations are from the *New York Times* coverage). When the two policemen came out of the building to re-enter their car, they were shot in the back, and killed. At least a half dozen witnesses were present. "The police described the suspects as two young black men. . . . The service revolvers of the two policemen were reportedly stolen after the shooting." Later that night letters were delivered to the *Times* and Harlem radio station WLIB stating that the shootings had been done "by oppressed third world people." Accompanying the letters were license plates of a car being sought by the police in connection with the shootings.

In one of his public statements Police Commissioner Patrick Murphy referred to this incident as "brutal, cold-blooded murder." In another he declared it "the work of madmen." This latter characterization was repeated by District Attorney Eugene Gold, who spoke of "madmen shooting policemen in the streets of our city." A massive manhunt was immediately undertaken, but has not been successful up to the time (June 1) I am writing.

Let me now add a differently worded report on what happened at Colonial Park Houses the night of May 21: "One of our commando units successfully ambushed an enemy patrol operating within our perimeter, wiped out its members, and recovered their weapons. There were no casualties on our side."

If we translate the description thus, into military language, the question arises: What was the objective of the operation? The ultimate (Grand Strategic or political) objective is obscure, but the specifically relevant aim seems prima facie clear enough: the classic military objective of control of territory. During that same week the relevance of this classic objective was even more plainly marked in another incident, involving what (in this frame of reference) may be considered the same forces. For five nights running, the police tried without success to control continuous rioting in the black district of Chattanooga. On the sixth night the police withdrew and turned the control job over to organized groups of young black militants, who quickly brought order.

We have available, then, three alternative language systems in which we may describe the May 21 incident. "Murder" belongs to "juridical" language; "madness" to what might be called a "psycho-social" language; and there is, third, the military language. No public official used the military language. The head of the policemen's own organization (Patrolmen's Benevolent Association) suggested, however, according to the *Times*, that "the recent series of attacks on policemen was developing into a 'war' between policemen and 'revolutionaries.'"

Murder, Madness, or War?

This official preference is neither unusual nor surprising. Revolution and civil war are more alarming and more awkward to deal with than individual acts of violence. It was interesting and perhaps prudent of Commissioner Murphy and District Attorney Gold to mention "act of madness" as well as "murder"—even though the two are logically incompatible. From the standpoint of established authority, murder is ordinarily the preferred category for a killing, since murder is dealt with by the normal judicial process. But it is becoming very difficult, even impossible, for our normal judicial process to handle self-defined revolutionaries, especially black revolutionaries. For established authorities, the psycho-social language represents a fallback position. If, for this reason and that, you cannot complete a regular judicial handling of certain types of presumed killers, you can usually find a couple of psychiatrists and a judge who will see that they are locked up and put out of action. But "war"—any kind of war—is something else again; in war you have to remember Geneva Conventions and belligerent rights, and you have to have some way of distinguishing who is on your side and who is the enemy.

Granted that there are three languages, which is correct as applied to the May 21 incident? Was that shooting "really" murder, act of madness, or military combat? To this I am afraid we can only give Humpty Dumpty's answer: It is a question, at bottom, of who is to be master.

A Bullet Is a Bullet Is a Bullet

If established society is able to contain these police killings, bombings, acts of arson, etc. at a relatively moderate level through more effective police work and judicial process, then events such as the May 21 affair will have been proved to be "murder" or, when more convenient, "acts of madness." If the presently small, scattered and divided groups of violent militants are able to expand their numbers and the scope of their actions, to enlarge and discipline their cadres, and to compel or attract a fair amount of mass support or at least acquiescence, then these current incidents will have been proved to be the initial skirmishes of a revolutionary war. This is the way it has been in many another nation in our time, and will be in many more. In truth, in the first phase of every revolution the revolutionaries are defined by the established authorities as "bandits," "murderers" and "madmen," and so they are recorded thereafter if the revolution is aborted early. If the movement becomes formidable, they are successively transformed into "guerrillas," "partisans," "combatants," "enemy soldiers." If the revolution succeeds, they make the final metamorphosis into "heroes."

It may be useful to ponder these linguistic mutations in the earlier stages when it may be easier to have some influence on the outcome. □

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LETTER FROM LONDON

Can Heath Hold the Line?

COLM BROGAN

THE PEOPLE of Britain are only now discovering what they voted for last year. The postal workers have returned to duty, acknowledging total defeat after a six-week strike that not only exhausted the union's funds but left it heavily in debt. At the beginning of the year, the electric power station workers staged a slowdown that cut off electricity altogether in different areas at different times. This slowdown was not ended by financial pressure, for the men were still drawing their wages. It was ended by public opinion. Power workers and their families were boycotted, some pubs refused to serve the men, some shops, their wives, and there were cases of assault, some of the victims being supervisory staff who were not slowing down, but who were working long hours to maintain service.

In both instances, the collapse of the workers was as sudden and complete as the collapse of Biafra. The general public was as startled as the militants. That a challenge by an important body of workers could be met head-on and crushed to the ground was something that was entirely new to all but the oldest. It could not have happened under other postwar governments, Labor or Tory. And government would have made sure it did not happen. A compromise settlement favorable to the men would have been forced on the employers.

A classic case of the general appeasement policy took place in May-June 1958 under Harold Macmillan. Frank Cousins, head of the transport union, called out the London bus drivers, expecting that strike would put a stranglehold on the city. In fact, it caused very little trouble. The strike was an irritation and an inconvenience but no more than that. Some people got to work by private car and others rediscovered that it is possible to go from point to point by means of the old-fashioned instruments called feet. It soon became clear to Cousins that his men were getting nowhere and that they should return to work before the union funds were too heavily damaged. But the men thought they were winning. The strike was solid and there was no backlash of public resentment. They were in no mood to admit total defeat. The strike might have dragged on until a serious tactical defeat became an irreparable disaster, but the government stepped in and arranged a settlement that saved Cousins' face and gave the members an illusion of habitual victory. The government's action was an example of the no-win policy which has bedeviled Britain for 25 years.

Tom Jackson of the Post Office workers found himself in the same position as Frank Cousins did many years ago. Not only had the strike failed, but it seemed likely that much of the business lost would never be recovered. Nothing could save him from disaster but a helping hand from the enemy. For all his flamboyant utterances, which got saturation coverage on television, he must have felt increasingly desperate as his union plunged deeper into debt, but there was no helping hand, for the enemy was sitting on his hands. Jackson's surrender was ratified by an enormous majority of the workers, who went back to work with nothing to show for their strike but a nearly bankrupt union, and the need to pay much heavier union dues to repay large debts.

The public showed no resentment at the strike, for the British postman is deservedly popular, but equally showed no disposition to put pressure on the government. They were willing to see the union knocked out. The reason can be spelled out in three figures. Last year wages increased by 13 per cent, prices by 8 per cent and production by 2 per cent. Creeping inflation had got on its feet and was striding out. People had at last become afraid and aware that the march to ruin could not be halted without pain and hardship.

Heath's policy is to start a process by which each successive wage settlement will be less inflationary than the one before, until inflation is thoroughly scotched, if not killed. He can exercise immense pressure on the public services, but on the private sector his authority is less complete, though still very great. Firms have been warned that if they yield to uneconomic wage demands and then get into dire trouble, they can stew in it.

Rolls Royce gave the government a spectacular chance of showing that the warnings addressed to employers were seriously meant. This great and illustrious firm was allowed to go bankrupt. The shock was profound. The British had long comforted themselves with the belief that this was one firm whose supremacy in design and finish was unchallenged anywhere in the world. Cadillacs might do for sheiks, but the Rolls was for kings. They imagined—with much less cause—that Rolls supremacy in aircraft engines was equally secure. and they did not grant that the aircraft engines were far bigger business than the car. It was that which caused the tragedy. The firm's contract with Lockheed, which had been secured with the enthusiastic support of Anthony Wedgwood Benn, the Socialist Minister of Technology, was ruinous. When costs doubled, the price for the finished article remained the same, and the end was inevitable as it was sudden. Forty thousand workers were directly employed by Rolls, and another forty thousand by firms that largely depended on Rolls for their existence.

ALLOWING that the financial management of the firm must have been unbelievably bad, it still seems certain that at the back of what the directors call their minds was the undeclared belief that no government would let Rolls go to the wall. There is no doubt that any previous government would have come to the rescue, whatever the cost, the unpalatable being preferable to the unthinkable. This government let the red ink speak for itself and the management was drastically changed, the sophists being displaced by the calculators. The first result has been the dismissal of some thousands who were surplus to requirements, regardless of what happened to the Lockheed engine BR-211. Rolls Royce, like many British firms, was badly overmanned, which means that the firms carrying an excessive work force are bearing an uneconomical burden and other firms cannot get

(*Continues on page 664*)

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SPECIAL REPORT

Opinion on the Campus

Almost one million Americans, most of them of voting age, will receive undergraduate degrees this month. Clutching their BAs and BSs, they will go forth, in the commencement orator's cliché, "to take their places as citizens." Along with their sheepskins, what spiritual and ideological baggage will they take with them?

Three-fifths call themselves political liberals; fully 17% are self-proclaimed radicals. Approximately half can't identify with either member of our cherished two-party system. Three out of four feel Marxists should be allowed to teach citizenship courses in the public high schools; almost half favor the socialization of all basic industries; seven out of ten want their country unilaterally to suspend atomic weapons development. 40% say American society is "sick"; just over half believe that organized religion is harmful or worse. Given the alternatives of war or surrender in a confrontation with the Soviet Union, 54% would have the United States surrender.

These figures and more are the harvest of a poll taken by NATIONAL REVIEW on twelve representative American campuses during the 1969-70 academic year. The poll was an updated version of one taken at the same schools in 1961-63, and based on a survey designed for the *Harvard Crimson* in 1959 by sociologist David Reisman. Questions asked and responses received in the 1969-70 poll are printed in table form below.

1. Whys and Wherefores

In the analysis and commentary that follow, we refer back frequently to our earlier poll, drawing comparisons between the old figures and the new to illustrate changes in undergraduates' attitudes over the intervening years. *All such comparisons between 1961-63 and 1969-70 are printed in italic type.* (It should be noted that the two polls are similar, not identical: Many questions asked in 1961-63 were no longer "relevant" and so were left unasked in 1969-70; others had to be somewhat rephrased. Moreover, many questions in the new poll—e.g., those about "student power" and drug use—were not asked eight years ago.)

The institutions at which we conducted our survey were selected with a view toward reflecting the diversity of

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American higher education. Private liberal arts, public land-grant and denominational schools were included; admission and academic standards range from average to very high, enrollment from a few hundred to twenty thousand. At each, only students in the three upper classes were surveyed—on the assumption that newly arrived freshmen would not have had time to adjust and react to their new surroundings. Percentages of the student bodies polled varied, depending on total enrollment; on each campus, a sufficiently large sample was taken to assure statistical reliability.

In the *tables*, fractional percentages are eliminated: Thus 49.7% is rendered 49%. The percentage not replying to each question is also omitted. In the *commentary*, percentages have been rounded off. Frequently we cite over-all percentages—e.g., 54% prefer surrender to war. These over-all figures represent averages of the percentages so replying at the twelve schools, *not* averages of all the students responding.

The dozen colleges and universities surveyed were:

—Sarah Lawrence College: a small, private, nonsectarian women's school with a reputation for high academic standards and educational and political progressivism, offering a residential environment in an upper-class suburb of New York City.

—Williams College: a small, private, nonsectarian men's (since become coeducational) liberal arts college in a small New England town, with high academic standards and a tradition of political liberalism in its faculty.

—Yale University: large, private, nonsectarian, occupying an ivied world of its own in a middle-sized Connecticut city, with high academic standards and a strong consciousness of its role as a training-ground for the American Establishment; was going coed at the time of our survey.

—Marquette University: a large, big-city (Milwaukee), coeducational, Catholic school, run by the Society of Jesus, with average academic standards.

—Boston University: a large, private, nonsectarian, coeducational school located across the Charles River from Harvard, with average-to-good academic standards; many students live at home and commute to classes.

—Indiana University: a giant Midwestern land-grant institution dominating the small city of Bloomington; coeducational, with academic standards ranging from fair to excellent depending on the department; will admit virtually any high-school graduate.

—The University of South Carolina: a largeish, coeducational, state-supported school, integrated since our earlier survey, with average academic standards and an atmosphere of genteel elitism not usually found in state universities outside the Old Confederacy.

—Howard University: a private, nondenominational, coeducational, predominantly black university, located in Washington, D.C. and heavily funded by the Federal Government; with good academic standards but not especially high admission standards.

—Reed College: a small, private, nonsectarian, coeducational school offering a comfortable residential environment in the city of Portland, Oregon; noted for educational and political progressivism; high academic standards.

—Davidson College: a small, private, Presbyterian men's school in rural North Carolina; an elite institution with high academic standards.

—Brandeis University: a medium-sized, nonsectarian, coeducational school founded in 1948 under Jewish auspices and with a predominantly Jewish student body, located in the Boston suburbs, with high academic standards and a reputation for political liberalism.

—Stanford University: a large, private, nonsectarian California institution, traditionally catering to the upper-middle and upper classes, with high academic standards.

2. Where They Come From

At all our schools except Marquette, a majority of students prepared at public schools (percentages ranged from 53% at Williams to 92% at South Carolina). *Since the 1961-63 poll, the percentage of students coming from private preparatory schools has declined at all except Howard, where it rose from 4% to 6%, and Stanford, where it rose from 9% to 24%. The decline at Yale, from 45% then to 28% now, is especially marked. Generally, where the total of students from private schools went down, the proportion from private day schools diminished less than that from boarding schools—reflecting the decline of the traditional "prep" school. Parochial schools, whose academic standards are usually somewhat higher than those of public schools, showed increases at ten of our twelve colleges.* [Question No. 4]

For all the alleged democratization of American higher education in the 1950s and 1960s, the great majority of students at all twelve colleges came from families with total incomes above the national median ($8,632 in 1968). Only at Howard did a substantial percentage (37%) come from families earning less than $8,000 a year; at none of the twelve did a majority come from the "middle-income" $8,000-$15,000 group. *Given the increase in family income over the past few years, no substantial change in* real *income of the students' families is to be found between the two surveys.* [Question No. 5]

At college, most students were concentrating in the catch-all "humanities" and "social sciences" categories—taking an over-all average of the twelve schools, 41% were majoring in the latter, 22% in the former. Social science was the biggest draw at all but traditionally arty Sarah Lawrence (Humanities 55%), Marquette (professional training 48%), the two state universities (professional training 45% at South Carolina, 39% at Indiana) and Howard, where professional training nosed out social science 34% to 33%. [Question No. 3]

As for post-college plans—the most interesting figures are those showing that at most schools, from 15% to 25% of the students polled marked "don't know" what they want to do, or said they intend simply to "feel [their] way around awhile." These figures were especially high at the so-called "rich men's (or women's) colleges"—23% at Yale, 25% at Sarah Lawrence, 33% at do-your-own-thing Reed—and lower at the schools attended by children of less well-to-do parents: 15% at the two state universities, 14% at Marquette, only 6% at Howard. *Compared with our earlier survey, the number of the undecided or indecisive is substantially higher, confirming widespread reports that the trend on campus these days is away from early career-planning. Also noticeable is the sharp decline in the percentages planning to go on to the business world from such traditional recruiting grounds as Stanford (12%, down from 26%), Williams (9%, down from 22%) and Yale (6%, down from 21%). Business clearly hasn't the allure it once had for the college man—although at Williams and Yale the percentage planning to study law, often the prelude to a business career, remains unchanged at around 25%.* [Question No. 6]

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3. Politics: Where They Are

The majority at our twelve colleges—absolute majorities at all but Reed—described themselves as liberals. The over-all average was 59%; Williams was the most liberal at 68%, Reed the least at 43%—and the most radical, at 35%. Self-identified radicals were also numerous at Howard (29%), Brandeis (25%) and Sarah Lawrence (24%); less so at Yale and Boston University (18%), Stanford (17%) and Williams (14%). At Indiana, 9% called themselves radical; at Catholic Marquette, 7%; at the two Southern colleges, Davidson and South Carolina, 8% and 4% respectively. Over-all, 17% of the students we surveyed called themselves radical; as we shall see, in response to a good litmus-test question, 25% took a specifically socialist (as distinguished from liberal) position.

CONSERVATIVE is not the thing to be on the Eastern Seaboard: 13% accepted the designation at Yale, 9% at Williams and Boston, 7% at Sarah Lawrence and Brandeis. Elsewhere, conservatism appears stronger on campus. At South Carolina, 34% said they were conservative; at Davidson, the other Southern school, 22%; at Indiana, 26%; Marquette, 25% and Stanford, 17%. Only Howard (7%) and Reed (4%) strayed from this pattern. Reflecting the decade's obsession with politics, the percentages of "politically indifferent" students were vanishingly small except at Yale (10%) and Reed (11%). [Question No. 7]

Conservatism has declined markedly since our earlier survey. Then, on an over-all average, 27% of those polled said they were conservative; now the figure is 15%. Both liberalism and radicalism have grown—liberalism from 51% to 59% over-all, radicalism from 7% to 17%. The decline of conservatism is especially marked at the two elite Eastern men's schools, Yale (37% then, 13% now) and Williams (36% then, 9% now). In the Midwest, a region more hospitable to conservatism, student acceptance of the label has declined at Indiana (38% to 26%) and Marquette (31% to 25%); even in the South there has been slippage at South Carolina (39% to 34%) and Davidson (44% to 22%).

Liberalism has increased somewhat on every campus but Reed (where it declined from 57% to 43%), Howard (61% to 54%) and Brandeis (66% to 61%). Radicalism has grown six-fold at Yale (3% to 18%), more than tripled at Stanford (5% to 17%) and Howard (8% to 29%), tripled at Boston (6% to 18%) and almost tripled at Williams (5% to 14%).

A MAJORITY of the students we surveyed (48% over-all) was affiliated "in spirit or actual membership" with neither political party—a statistic, now that 18-year-olds are getting the vote, that should probably be more alarming to guardians of the traditional American political system than the "17% radical" figure. 33% said they were Democrats, and 14% Republicans. The more progressive schools were in the vanguard of the movement away from the traditional parties—57% at Reed and 51% at Sarah Lawrence rejected both. At Yale and Williams, the figures were 52% and 54%; even at Indiana, not noted for progressivism and with less than 10% of its upperclassmen calling themselves radical, "nonaffiliates" made up a third of the students polled. *By comparison, in the 1961-63 poll, only 27% of the students, over-all, claimed no party affiliation; 39% were Democrats and 28% Republicans (at one school, Indiana, Republicans were actually a clear majority of 51%). Since then, at every school surveyed save one (Reed), Republicans were fewer or holding their own. At Yale and Stanford there are a third as many Republicans today as there were eight years ago; at Marquette and Davidson, half as many. Generally, the percentages of students identifying themselves as Democrats remained about the same, give or take a few percentage points.* [Question No. 10]

Not surprisingly, only a third of the students polled found the two-party system as it now exists "satisfactory on the whole." The rest either wanted the system changed "so that much sharper lines could be drawn between the two political parties," or said they would like to see a third party founded to represent the Left (only a statistically insignificant handful wanted a third party to represent the Right). *In our earlier poll, 58% said they were satisfied with the system as it is; approximately the same handful wanted a new party of the Right, and only at Sarah Lawrence and Reed did more than 10% want a new party of the Left.* [Question No. 11]

In the present poll, twenty political proposals for the United States were listed, and respondents asked to express themselves as "definitely in favor," "indifferent," "somewhat opposed" or "definitely opposed." Among the proposals were:

—"Full socialization of all industries": 25% in favor, 62% opposed (*in the earlier poll, the figures were 8% and 84%*). [Question No. 19]

—"National health insurance": 74% in favor, 10% opposed (*the vote was 54% to 30% in 1961-63*). [Question No. 21]

—"Right-to-work laws": 59% in favor; at only one school, Reed (45%) was less than an absolute majority in favor. About one student in five was "indifferent"—a higher percentage than on most of the political questions, perhaps reflecting the fact that right-to-work is no longer a hot issue. (*In the earlier poll, 61% favored right-to-work laws.*) [Question No. 24]

—"Turning over the Post Office to a private company": 46% in favor, 38% opposed; only at Howard (59%), Boston University (53%) and Sarah Lawrence (48%) did the opponents have a clear edge over those supporting the move. [Question No. 25] *In a similar question in the 1961-63 poll, only 18% favored turning over TVA to a private company; 57% were opposed.* The response to this question and the right-to-work question suggest a sort of spasmodic libertarianism (See also Question No. 59); on other issues, e.g., federal aid to education, wage and price controls etcetera, the students we surveyed were overwhelmingly interventionist.

Somewhat surprisingly, "only" 73% of the students were in favor of universal suffrage; a quarter preferred suffrage limited to high-school or college graduates, or "some other form of limited suffrage." "Other form" received high votes at Davidson and South Carolina (20% and 24%), probably reflecting a residuum of segregationist attitudes in the Old South (but see Question No. 50). [Question No. 13] As for qualifications for public office: 68% said they would like to see candidates drawn from the populace at large, while about 30% preferred "men with government experience or education." *Eight years ago, almost half the students felt candidates should be chosen "only from men with experience and education in the science of government."*

4. Politics: How They Got That Way

The theme of the son or daughter returning from a semester or two of college to shock his (conservative) parents with his new (liberal) political views is a familiar one, the stock in trade of cartoonists. According to our survey, that's just the way it is: More than three-quarters (77%) of the students

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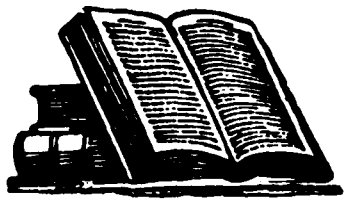
told us their political attitudes had changed, *in a leftward direction, since* they entered college. (This figure represents the sum of Choices 2, 3, 5, 8, 10 and 11 in Question No. 8.) Only 9% had moved in a net rightward direction (i.e., marked Choices 1, 4, 6, 7 or 9). 12% said their political views had not changed. *In the 1961-63 poll, while almost half had moved to the left, a respectable 23% had moved right and 30% hadn't changed their views.*

It is difficult to determine what induced the change (predominantly leftward) in students' views. The concept of the professor-as-Svengali seems not entirely valid: Only 31% of those polled listed "lectures and/or course readings" and 8%, "personal contact with faculty members," as having "significantly influenced" them. (*In the 1961-63 poll, the same 8% marked "personal contact" and a larger percentage, 39%, credited lectures and readings.*) "Increased independent readings" was a significant influence on 32%; "independence from parental ideas," on 19%. (Respondents were asked to mark two or three responses to this question.) 70% marked "increased thinking about political questions"—probably an effect, more than a cause, of new attitudes; and not surprising, considering the highly politicized atmosphere on most campuses. 42% marked "influence of friends." In dubious conclusion: chalk up one for the zeitgeist. Perhaps the arriving student does not *have* to be radicalized, by his professors or anyone else. He comes to college full of the feeling that he is a big boy now, that he is expected to Think about Things and Develop His Own Ideas. If he didn't know it already, he soon comes to realize that politics—especially left politics—is the in thing, the totem, and finds a complete kit of new attitudes, perfectly suited to his new maturity and independence. [Question No. 9]

ABOUT three-quarters of the students polled relied on the printed media as their principal source of "political news, information and comment." [Question No. 70] These printed sources, where identifiable politically, are generally Establishment-liberal: 57% listed *Time*, 49% *Newsweek*; only 7% over-all listed the overtly radical *Ramparts* and 3% the specifically conservative *National Review*. On most campuses, students' principal printed source of political news and comment was not national magazines, but the local newspaper—except at the elitist-liberal Eastern schools, where the *New York Times* proved more palatable than the *North Adams Transcript, New Haven Register* or whatever. [Question No. 71]



5. Their Country, Sick or Well

As we noted above, 40% of the students we polled described American society as "sick"; 41% called it "too repressive" and 46% called it "racist." (Respondents were asked to check "all appropriate responses.") [Question No. 41] Anent the problem of racism, 62% regarded the "black power" movement as "an appropriate response to the condition of the black person in America today." [Question No. 42] 63% over-all believed integration in the United States is "possible"; at South Carolina, until recently a segregated school, 72% felt that way while at Howard the figure was only 43%—suggesting that while a heavy majority of white students, including Southerners, clings to the liberal integrationist dream, black students are giving up on it. [Question No. 49] An even heavier majority, 78% over-all, believed integration is "desirable." [Question No. 50]

The antirepression sentiment revealed in the students' characterization of American society is, when we come down to cases, somewhat selective. For instance, while 26% over-all felt that "members of Marxist parties should not be permitted to teach citizenship courses in the public high schools" [Question No. 14], 40% would deny the same privilege to members of "fascist parties." [Question No. 15] Only 12% thought members of the Communist Party should not be allowed to teach college. [Question No. 16] *In our earlier survey, the vote on members of the Socialist Party teaching high school was 51% for, 45% against; the vote on members of the Communist Party teaching college was almost the same—52% for, 45% against. In both surveys, tolerance of Marxist or Communist teachers was high at the eastern elite schools, lower in the Midwest and South.*

Selective libertarianism appears also in the students' responses to questions regarding censorship. 97% disapproved of banning books that offend "particular organized religions" [Question No. 18], while a significant minority of 22% felt that movies should be banned if they offend "certain religious *or ethnic* groups." [Question No. 17] The two highest approval figures for movie-banning were from Catholic Marquette (29%) and black Howard (30%). *Responses to the same questions in our earlier poll were similar—with one exception: Back then, at pre-Vatican II Marquette 70% approved of banning group-offensive movies (30% today), and 17% favored banning religious-offensive books (1% today).*

On a question of particular interest to today's students, sentiment was firmly libertarian: 69% favored the legalization of marijuana; at only one school, Howard, did fewer than half those polled want legalization. [Question No. 38] Howard also ranked low in the use of marijuana—only 40% there said they had smoked it. 33% have smoked at Marquette and Davidson, 34% at South Carolina; a glance at the figures will disclose that these comparatively un-hip colleges are also less radical politically than Yale, Williams, Sarah Lawrence, Reed and Brandeis. Over-all, 57% of the students we surveyed said they had smoked grass—a far lower figure than the media have led us to suspect. [Question No. 39] The percentages admitting having used LSD are vanishingly small in the Midwest and South; higher elsewhere—11% at Yale and Stanford, 13% at Sarah Lawrence, 18% at Williams and Boston, and 34% at freaked-out Reed. [Question No. 40]

6. Better Red

When it comes to international Communism, today's students are tolerant to a fault. A heavy majority of 62% favored "coexistence" as the goal of American foreign policy; a significant minority of 22% would like to see "unilateral disarmament" our national goal. Statistically insignificant minorities called for "containment," "isolationism" and "rollback of Communist

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power." [Question No. 55] Looking further into the clouds, 41% said they felt that, nation-states being "dangerously anachronistic," the United States should "surrender some of her sovereignty in a serious attempt at achieving . . . world government." 34% disagreed, and fully a quarter had no opinion. [Question No. 72] *The percentage favoring world government rose 7% since our last survey—despite the failure of the United Nations to accomplish much of anything in the intervening years. Evidently a number of students buy the old liberal formula, "if* x *doesn't work, obviously what is needed is a whole lot more of* x." *At only one school did the percentage favoring world government drop markedly: in 1961-63, 65% at Brandeis favored the idea; in the new poll the figure was 44%, perhaps reflecting a special interest in the fate of Israel, which the UN has proven incapable of guaranteeing.*

"Unilateral suspension of atomic weapons development" was endorsed by 69% of the students polled, *compared with 26% in the earlier survey*—and by absolute majorities at all twelve colleges. [Question No. 27] 69% opposed weapons research and development "necessary to maintain strategic nuclear superiority over China and the Soviet Union"—absolute majorities on all campuses except South Carolina, where 59% favored the idea. [Question No. 33] As for maintaining our defenses (if any), only 6% of the students we surveyed were satisfied with the present Selective Service System. 32% would like to see "universal service"—compulsory government service of some sort (Army, Peace Corps, Vista) for all persons of both sexes; no libertarianism evident here—and 55% wanted an "all-volunteer military." [Question No. 57]

On the Vietnam issue the vast majority, not at all surprisingly, wanted out now. 38% would like to see "negotiated withdrawal and a coalition government with the National Liberation Front"; 46% wanted "immediate withdrawal." At no school did "a limited effort in search of a compromise peace" win the approval of more than 15%; the percentages calling for "escalation in pursuit of victory" were statistically insignificant save at South Carolina (22%). [Question No. 56]

With a certain consistency, students overwhelmingly opposed involvement of American troops in the Middle East. Only 8% called for aid including military forces "if Israel were to be attacked or invaded"; 44% would give aid "short of committing American military forces," and a hefty 38% called for "absolute noninterference." [Question No. 51] Only 19%, by comparison, wanted "absolute noninterference" with Ian Smith's Rhodesia; most called for action against Rhodesia via the United Nations, and a quarter of those polled marked "unsure or no opinion," which indicates that Rhodesia is losing appeal as a Big Issue. [Question No. 52]

Just as they exhibited a double standard regarding Marxism *v.* Fascism in high-school teachers (see above), so the students were selective in their judgments of international villainy. For instance, while they split (44% to 44%) on the question of barring South Africa from international athletic competition [Question No. 53], an overwhelming majority of 93% opposed barring the Soviet Union, a country, by all objective standards, much naughtier than South Africa. [Question No. 54]

AND WHEN it comes to the crunch, the students we polled would rather be Red. If "all other alternatives were closed save a world war with the Soviet Union or surrender to the Soviet Union," 54% would prefer surrender and 37%, war. Surrender got absolute majorities of three-quarters or better at Sarah Lawrence, Reed and Stanford, 69% at Brandeis and 50% to 60% at Williams, Yale, Boston and Davidson. Majorities chose war over surrender at South Carolina (74%), Marquette (61%), Indiana (58%) and Howard (54%)—reconfirming a conclusion of our 1961-63 poll, that students at colleges drawing their enrollment from relatively poorer economic strata, regardless of race, tend to be more firmly anti-Communist. *But surrender has grown in acceptability in all twelve schools. In the earlier poll, over-all only 25% preferred surrender; 67% would rather fight.* [Question No. 73]

7. Some Power to the Students

The students we surveyed were presented with ten "areas of college and university decision-making" and asked to indicate the role they felt students should play in each: "no role," "advise faculty and administration," "have a vote as do faculty and administration," "exercise final decision-making power." On only two issues, both directly affecting the private lives of students, did a majority want final decision-making power: "adoption of dress regulations" (79%) [Question No. 60] and "establishment of dormitory visiting hours" (68%). [Question No. 61] On three questions, a majority wanted students

to vote along with faculty and administration: "disciplining of students" (62%) [Question No. 62], "establishment of curriculum" (51%) [Question No. 63] and recruiting policy (56%) [Question No. 65]. On the other issues, the majority were content that students should advise faculty and administration: Investment of endowment (51%) [Question No. 69], establishment of fees (46%) [Question No. 68], "hiring, firing and promotion of faculty" (46%) [Question No. 67], "admission of new students" (42%) [Question No. 66] and grading (39%) [Question No. 64]. 20% to 25% of the students surveyed felt students should play no role in investment of endowment (a favorite demand of the campus New Left), establishment of fees and admission policies.

All of which suggests that "student power" has not, or at any rate has not yet, gotten out of hand. Students want power over matters that intimately concern them, and a vote or more often a voice on questions that affect not only themselves but their schools, or are beyond their special competence. Incidentally, "student power" proved most popular at the two smallest of our twelve colleges (and the most educationally progressive): Sarah Lawrence and Reed; rather less popular than the average at Marquette, and least popular of all at the largest school, Indiana. Perhaps students don't, after all, chafe at comparatively authoritarian administrations (like Jesuit Marquette); perhaps they can bear life in the behemoth multiversity (Indiana).

Students' views on campus recruiting and ROTC were solicited. An absolute majority (57%) felt that "all organizations except the military and private corporations with war-related contracts" should be allowed to recruit on campus, while 21% would admit "all organizations except those that advocate overthrow of the government." This rather conservative-sounding position was taken by more students than took the radical, antimilitary position at all our schools except for Sarah

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Lawrence, Boston, Reed and Brandeis. Another 9% wanted no organizations at all to recruit on campus; this figure is distorted by unusually high percentages at the two most radical schools, Reed (20%) and Sarah Lawrence (28%). [Question No. 59]

Another favorite whipping-boy of campus radicals, ROTC, won the qualified approval of most students: 46% over-all (68% and 65% at liberal Williams and Yale; 57% at thoroughly liberal Brandeis) said ROTC should be offered "on a voluntary basis without academic credit"; 33% (heavy majorities of 67% and 66% at Howard and South Carolina) wanted it offered *with* academic credit, and only 18% over-all (including a curve-raising 33% at Sarah Lawrence and 40% at Reed) said it should be abolished outright. [Question No. 58]

Passions seem to have cooled on two big campus issues of not so long ago. Our cross-section of students didn't feel that black studies and preferential admissions standards for Negroes are the end of the world—but neither were they wholeheartedly in favor of them. 54% thought "separate and autonomous black studies programs" are "academically legitimate"; 23% disagreed and 20% weren't sure. Howard, not surprisingly, gave black studies the highest marks—69%—but even at deep-South Carolina, 35% found them "legitimate" while 33% did not. [Question No. 43] Almost the same approval figure—53%—emerged when the students were asked if black studies programs "benefit black students." [Question No. 44] While 50% favored "more lenient admissions standards for black students," only 47% felt such "preferential consideration" was "fair." [Questions No. 48 and 45]

8. God Is Not Feeling Very Well

All but a small fraction of the students we surveyed were raised in some religious tradition. [Question No. 77] 31% said this upbringing had a "very marked" influence on them; for 42% the influence was "moderate" and for only 20% was it "slight" or nonexistent. [Question No. 86] Having reached college age, 24% said they "wholly reject" the tradition in which they were raised; 13% were in "substantial agreement" with it, and 61% said they "partially agree" but with "important reservations." [Question No. 91] A third said they were formally affiliated with no organized religion; at the two most conspicuously liberal institutions, Reed and Sarah Lawrence, the nonaffiliated were in the majority (68% and 53%). Even at Catholic Marquette, 16% claimed no religious affiliation. [Question No. 74] *In the years since our previous survey nonaffiliation has risen significantly from 25% to 34%.*

About half the students polled said their practice of religion at college differs from their practice at home; most said they attend church more frequently at home [Questions No. 80 and 81]. Three-quarters said there had been a period in their lives when they "reacted either partially or wholly against" the religious tradition in which they were raised [Question No. 87]. But the influence of college cannot be given principal blame; for the majority, the reaction occurred before or during secondary school. For only 27% did it occur in college. *When these figures are compared with the earlier survey, it appears that the reaction against religion occurs earlier today than it did then; evidently the secularist attitudes of the American campus are seeping downward into the high schools, and outward into society.* [Question No. 88]

Those who did experience an antireligious reaction after coming to college credited "increased thinking about religion" and "independence from parental ideas" as leading factors [Question No. 89]. Of those who had reacted against their religion at one time or another, just over half—53%—said they had subsequently experienced some "resurgence of religious faith and interest" [Question No. 90]. *In the earlier survey, almost the same number —54%—said they had had "no such experience whatsoever."*

Asked their conceptions of the Deity, only 17% of our students took the position that God is omniscient, omnipotent, three-personed and maintains "an active concern for human affairs." Another 3% held the same view, minus the trinitarian nature. 25% expressed belief in a God "about whom nothing definite can be affirmed," a "spiritual essence"; 18% described God as "a vast, impersonal principle of order." Another 18% took the agnostic position, neither affirming nor denying, while 7% rejected "all belief in anything that could reasonably be called 'God.'" [Question No. 95] *In the earlier survey, 30% took the orthodox position and 2% to 5% fewer took each of the others.*

More than half—51%—believed that organized religion ("the Church") is less than a good thing—either that its "total influence . . . may be harmful" despite the good intentions of individual churchgoers, or that it is "a stronghold of much that is unwholesome and dangerous to human welfare." *Eight years ago, those two propositions between them won the approval of less than a quarter of the students polled.* In the newer survey, only a tiny handful, less than 1%, believed that "the Church is the one sure and infallible foundation of civilization." The rest took the middle-minded view that it "stands for the best in human life, with minor errors and shortcomings apparent. . . ." *Surprisingly, 61% of the students polled at Marquette eight years ago adopted the hard-line "sure and infallible" position; in the new poll, 1% did, with 66% settling for the anthropocentric, "best in human life" view.* [Question No. 82]

Of the believers in some sort of God (Jews as well as Christians), roughly half felt Christ "should be regarded as a very great prophet or teacher"; a quarter believed in him as "divine . . . the Word made flesh" and another quarter held "another view" (unspecified) [Question No. 99]. Of those professing "some form of Christianity," only 20% said they believed in the "literal truth of the Apostles' Creed," 28% in the "literal truth of the Gospel account of Jesus' resurrection" and 38% in "the idea of God becoming flesh" [Question No. 100]. The practical applications of belief are similarly latitudinarian: At only *two* colleges do more than half the believers in God disapprove of anything because of their religious beliefs (Marquette and South Carolina; extramarital sexual intercourse) [Question No. 98].

Religious belief is likewise diluted among Jewish students. Of those polled, only 24% said they actually "profess Judaism as a religion, agreeing wholly or substantially with its beliefs and traditions." By comparison, 35% considered themselves Jews by virtue of "interest in certain cultural features common to Jewish tradition." [Question No. 92] Only 35% of the Jewish students polled accepted the idea of a one-person God [Question No. 93].

All across the line, figures from the present poll, when compared with the 1961-63 survey, shows a sharp decline in religious orthodoxy. The decline is especially evident at the two identifiably "religious" schools, Marquette and Brandeis. Where 51% of the students at Brandeis expressed belief in a one-person God then, 35% do now. 86% of those polled at Marquette opposed birth control, on specifically religious grounds, then; only 8% do today [Question No. 98]; *94% affirmed the divinity of Christ then, 65% do now. In the old survey, we found evidence of "a firm and expansive student Catholicism, a weakening Protestantism, and a Judaism in decay." Eight years later, the two latter are continuing to decline while the former is rushing downward to catch up with them.* □

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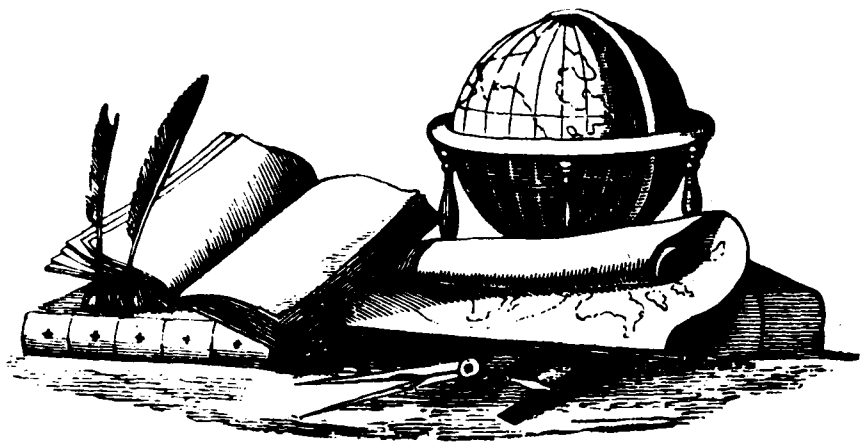
The Survey



1. What is your class year?

1) Sophomore 2) Junior 3) Senior

	SL %	Wms %	Yale %	Marq %	BU %	Ind %	SC %	Hwd %	Reed %	Dav %	Bran %	Stan %
1)	42	36	33	15	33	25	31	34	38	41	44	38
2)	28	31	41	37	38	33	31	32	33	28	32	26
3)	30	33	26	48	30	42	38	34	29	30	23	36

2. How old are you?

1) 17 or younger
2) 18
3) 19
4) 20
5) 21
6) 22
7) 23
8) 24
9) 25 or older

	SL %	Wms %	Yale %	Marq %	BU %	Ind %	SC %	Hwd %	Reed %	Dav %	Bran %	Stan %
1)									1	1		
2)	5	1	2		2		2		3	1	4	2
3)	24	21	25	10	18	13	15	13	25	26	33	27
4)	30	34	34	24	34	28	30	21	27	30	31	30
5)	24	31	28	43	26	38	21	19	25	28	21	28
6)	11	9	10	13	11	14	12	17	9	14	12	11
7)	1	2		4	3	3	7	3	4			1
8)		1	1	1	1	2	4	5	3			
9)	1	1		4	4	2	9	21	3	1		

3. What is your field of concentration or intended field of concentration?

1) Physical sciences
2) Social sciences
3) Humanities
4) Mathematics
5) Professional training (education, journalism, business administration, nursing, etc.)
6) Other or undecided

	SL %	Wms %	Yale %	Marq %	BU %	Ind %	SC %	Hwd %	Reed %	Dav %	Bran %	Stan %
1)	4	18	11	12	12	14	12	13	20	24	17	20
2)	37	59	60	31	38	25	27	33	39	46	58	45
3)	55	19	26	7	19	21	13	13	29	19	21	20
4)	1	6	4	4	1	3	2	5	9	6	4	5
5)	5	3	1	48	29	39	45	34	1	6	3	10
6)	4	4	2	1	3	2	2	3	4	3	1	7

4. In what sort of school did you receive most of your secondary education?

1) Public
2) Private boarding
3) Private day
4) Parochial
5) Other denominational

	SL %	Wms %	Yale %	Marq %	BU %	Ind %	SC %	Hwd %	Reed %	Dav %	Bran %	Stan %
1)	57	53	68	27	78	82	92	79	86	88	89	67
2)	21	29	16	2	5	2	1	4	6	4	2	10
3)	16	15	12	12	5		2	2	4	7	5	14
4)	4	3	3	57	11	15	4	9	1		3	7
5)	1							4	1		1	

5. What is your parents' combined annual income?

1) Less than $4,000
2) $4,000 to $8,000
3) $8,000 to $15,000
4) $15,000 to $30,000
5) $30,000 to $50,000
6) More than $50,000

	SL %	Wms %	Yale %	Marq %	BU %	Ind %	SC %	Hwd %	Reed %	Dav %	Bran %	Stan %
1)	3		2	3	1	3	2	5	5	3	2	
2)	4	3	5	10	8	10	15	32	15	5	7	3
3)	12	13	29	40	25	38	42	33	32	33	29	22
4)	37	37	37	33	35	34	30	22	30	38	34	40
5)	21	25	19	7	15	10	5	3	8	13	17	19
6)	21	19	8	6	12	4	2		5	7	8	16

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6. What do you plan to do after graduation and/or military duty?

1) Prepare to teach liberal arts in a university
2) Prepare to teach scientific subjects or do scientific research in a university
3) Teach or prepare to teach in a secondary school
4) Enter business or prepare for a business career
5) Study law
6) Study medicine
7) Enter a seminary
8) Express myself creatively (write, paint, play music, etc.)
9) Do some kind of political or social work
10) Just feel my way around for a while
11) Other
12) I don't know

	SL %	Wms %	Yale %	Marq %	BU %	Ind %	SC %	Hwd %	Reed %	Dav %	Bran %	Stan %
1)	5	5	9	6	2	5	4	4	13	8	9	5
2)	1	4	6	5	4	4	5	4	14	4	6	5
3)	8	10	5	8	13	18	16	10	7	5	11	5
4)	3	9	6	28	8	19	25	21	3	16	3	12
5)	7	26	29	9	7	10	9	16	5	21	14	15
6)	4	13	12	6	6	5	3	9	4	20	12	13
7)	1	3	2					1	1	6		1
8)	38	8	8	5	11	10	4	8	17	3	8	5
9)	17	12	8	9	17	6	10	13	6	4	10	10
10)	13	7	13	7	7	5	6	4	11	5	6	14
11)	11	5	5	18	18	13	12	12	11	5	9	10
12)	12	11	10	7	15	10	9	2	22	11	19	14

7. Which of the following four designations most nearly describes your own political temperament?

1) Conservative
2) Liberal
3) Radical
4) Politically indifferent

	SL %	Wms %	Yale %	Marq %	BU %	Ind %	SC %	Hwd %	Reed %	Dav %	Bran %	Stan %
1)	7	9	13	25	9	26	34	7	4	22	7	17
2)	58	68	56	61	66	56	58	54	43	64	61	61
3)	24	14	18	7	18	9	4	29	35	8	25	17
4)	3	4	10	7	4	6	3	7	11	4	6	4

8. Since you entered college, in which of the following ways have your political views changed? (Please check only one response.)

1) From conservative to more conservative
2) From conservative to less conservative or liberal
3) From conservative to radical
4) From liberal to less liberal or conservative
5) From liberal to more liberal or radical
6) From radical to conservative
7) From radical to less radical or liberal
8) From radical to more radical
9) From politically indifferent to conservative
10) From politically indifferent to liberal
11) From politically indifferent to radical
12) My political views haven't changed since I entered college.

	SL %	Wms %	Yale %	Marq %	BU %	Ind %	SC %	Hwd %	Reed %	Dav %	Bran %	Stan %
1)		1	2	3	1	2	5		1	3	1	2
2)	9	28	22	35	21	42	47	14	8	46	13	35
3)	1	6	4	1	3	2	2	3	3	1		3
4)	8	4	7	6	2	4	2	1	4	5	6	2
5)	51	33	38	21	39	22	14	48	38	23	48	30
6)								1			1	
7)	1	1	2		1			2	7		2	
8)	4	1			2	1		3	4	1	2	1
9)			1	5		5	4	1				2
10)	4	11	10	12	19	10	12	9	8	11	11	11
11)	4	3	3	1	3		1	6	1	1	2	3
12)	14	9	11	15	8	11	12	9	22	9	14	9

9. If your political views have changed, which of the following factors have significantly influenced you? (Please check no more than two or three responses.) (If your political views *haven't changed, please skip to next question.*)

1) Lectures and/or assigned reading in courses
2) Influence of friends
3) Personal contact with faculty members
4) Increased independent reading
5) Independence from parental ideas
6) Increased thinking about political questions
7) Other

	SL %	Wms %	Yale %	Marq %	BU %	Ind %	SC %	Hwd %	Reed %	Dav %	Bran %	Stan %
1)	25	45	27	35	41	32	30	35	20	32	24	26
2)	49	49	52	45	41	39	36	14	35	47	52	52
3)	27	7	5	6	5	6	10	5	13	6	7	4
4)	30	26	25	31	38	32	36	49	36	32	24	27
5)	22	20	18	19	13	27	17	10	15	30	16	27
6)	70	75	76	68	70	70	70	71	71	69	82	72
7)	16	7	11	7	9	8	12	15	16	4	14	11

10. With which political party are you affiliated, either in spirit or actual membership?

1) Democratic
2) Republican
3) Other
4) None

	SL %	Wms %	Yale %	Marq %	BU %	Ind %	SC %	Hwd %	Reed %	Dav %	Bran %	Stan %
1)	41	21	29	36	35	32	22	45	31	31	44	30
2)	3	22	13	15	8	30	33	2	6	18	4	16
3)	4	1	5	4	7	3	4	3	6	1	3	6
4)	51	54	52	45	48	34	41	49	57	50	48	48

11. Which one of the following four attitudes toward political parties most nearly corresponds to your own?

1) The present two-party system is satisfactory on the whole and should be essentially retained.
2) The present party structure should be altered so that much sharper lines could be drawn between the two political parties, one being definitely and unambiguously the more "right"-leaning, and the other being definitely and unambiguously the more "left"-leaning.
3) I would support the founding of a third party that would represent "the right" more than either the Republicans or the Democrats do at present.
4) I would support the founding of a third party that would represent "the left" more than either the Republicans or the Democrats do at present.

	SL %	Wms %	Yale %	Marq %	BU %	Ind %	SC %	Hwd %	Reed %	Dav %	Bran %	Stan %
1)	14	38	29	53	19	51	55	23	17	50	25	37
2)	22	16	17	18	23	11	22	21	18	17	15	14
3)			2	7	3	3	5	7	1	2	2	1
4)	57	35	46	18	47	31	14	37	52	26	51	41

12. Which formal nomination criterion do you prefer?

1) Candidates chosen from the populace at large
2) Candidates chosen only from men with experience and education in the science of government

	SL %	Wms %	Yale %	Marq %	BU %	Ind %	SC %	Hwd %	Reed %	Dav %	Bran %	Stan %
1)	78	71	65	61	67	65	63	71	71	64	69	76
2)	21	24	29	39	30	32	36	23	22	33	26	22

13. Which form of suffrage do you feel would be most advantageous for the United States?

1) Universal suffrage
2) Suffrage for high school graduates only
3) Suffrage for college graduates only
4) Some other form of limited suffrage

	SL %	Wms %	Yale %	Marq %	BU %	Ind %	SC %	Hwd %	Reed %	Dav %	Bran %	Stan %
1)	91	76	74	73	73	65	64	70	79	66	77	73
2)	7	10	11	9	9	14	9	4	3	11	6	8
3)		3	2	2	2	3	1	3	2	1	1	2
4)	1	9	10	13	12	14	24	17	10	20	12	11

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14-16. Please give your opinion on the following three statements.

14. Members of Marxist parties should not be permitted to teach citizenship courses in the public high schools.

1) I agree 2) I disagree

	SL %	Wms %	Yale %	Marq %	BU %	Ind %	SC %	Hwd %	Reed %	Dav %	Bran %	Stan %
1)	13	20	22	45	23	33	54	29	6	30	15	26
2)	86	78	77	54	75	65	44	65	92	69	82	72

15. Members of fascist parties should not be permitted to teach citizenship courses in the public high schools.

1) I agree 2) I disagree

	SL %	Wms %	Yale %	Marq %	BU %	Ind %	SC %	Hwd %	Reed %	Dav %	Bran %	Stan %
1)	38	25	35	59	43	41	60	44	21	36	35	35
2)	61	73	63	41	54	56	38	49	76	62	61	64

16. Members of the Communist Party should not be permitted to hold teaching positions in American colleges or universities.

1) I agree 2) I disagree

	SL %	Wms %	Yale %	Marq %	BU %	Ind %	SC %	Hwd %	Reed %	Dav %	Bran %	Stan %
1)	1	4	8	21	10	20	34	23	1	9	5	3
2)	99	95	91	79	88	79	64	71	97	90	93	96

17. Do you think a film should ever not be shown at a commercial theater or over television if certain religious or ethnic groups formally object to it (e.g., the attitude of the NAACP toward "Birth of a Nation", some Italian-American organizations to "The Brotherhood" [a movie about "la Cosa Nostra"], white and black anti-miscegenation groups to "Guess Who's Coming to Dinner?")?

1) No film should be suppressed under any of these circumstances
2) Films should be suppressed under certain but not all the above circumstances
3) Whenever a certain substantial religious or racial group does not want a film shown, it should not be shown

	SL %	Wms %	Yale %	Marq %	BU %	Ind %	SC %	Hwd %	Reed %	Dav %	Bran %	Stan %
1)	82	76	75	70	83	77	78	63	88	85	71	65
2)	16	22	23	29	13	20	21	30	6	12	23	32
3)	3	1	1	1	1	1		3	1	2	2	1

18. Do you approve of banning books that conflict with beliefs of particular organized religions?

1) Yes 2) No

	SL %	Wms %	Yale %	Marq %	BU %	Ind %	SC %	Hwd %	Reed %	Dav %	Bran %	Stan %
)			1	1		3	3	2	1	1	1	2
)	97	98	98	99	98	95	95	93	99	97	95	97

19-38. Indicate your views on the following twenty political proposals for the United States by writing in a number signifying the following:

1) Definitely in favor
2) Somewhat in favor
3) Indifferent or no opinion
4) Somewhat opposed
5) Definitely opposed

19. Full socialization of all industries

	SL %	Wms %	Yale %	Marq %	BU %	Ind %	SC %	Hwd %	Reed %	Dav %	Bran %	Stan %
1)	11	2	8	2	9	4		10	11	4	7	3
2)	34	13	17	9	29	14	8	26	27	11	30	17
3)	9	7	11	11	11	9	11	18	16	8	8	7
4)	21	28	25	21	20	20	18	16	14	25	26	23
5)	24	49	40	56	29	51	61	25	29	51	23	48

20. Socialization of basic industries

	SL %	Wms %	Yale %	Marq %	BU %	Ind %	SC %	Hwd %	Reed %	Dav %	Bran %	Stan %
1)	34	10	21	9	26	13	4	31	29	12	25	15
2)	41	29	34	23	34	20	24	27	28	23	34	29
3)	8	8	6	10	9	8	12	13	11	5	8	8
4)	5	28	22	26	15	22	20	15	13	31	17	22
5)	9	26	17	32	13	34	40	9	16	28	11	24

21. National health insurance

	SL %	Wms %	Yale %	Marq %	BU %	Ind %	SC %	Hwd %	Reed %	Dav %	Bran %	Stan %
1)	63	39	54	28	56	30	31	54	58	27	61	32
2)	18	35	28	35	27	28	34	25	18	46	22	38
3)	14	14	13	15	11	20	15	14	10	11	9	15
4)	3	6	3	13	3	10	12	3	8	9	1	7
5)		5	2	8	1	8	7		3	5	2	4

22. Continued governmental projects on the order of the TVA

	SL %	Wms %	Yale %	Marq %	BU %	Ind %	SC %	Hwd %	Reed %	Dav %	Bran %	Stan %
1)	50	27	33	36	41	33	35	30	25	31	34	17
2)	24	43	40	37	27	33	34	21	31	39	26	32
3)	14	18	19	17	21	20	19	39	26	11	27	30
4)	5	8	2	7	5	9	9	4	10	11	4	17
5)	4	4	6	2	4	3	3	2	4	7	1	2

23. Retention of Social Security in its present form

	SL %	Wms %	Yale %	Marq %	BU %	Ind %	SC %	Hwd %	Reed %	Dav %	Bran %	Stan %
1)	14	14	18	16	14	19	22	21	11	15	13	9
2)	22	24	29	30	24	29	30	27	32	31	30	28
3)	30	19	23	19	22	18	16	16	22	20	22	23
4)	20	32	20	25	24	18	20	13	22	18	22	30
5)	9	10	9	8	14	13	11	18	10	13	7	8

24. Right-to-work laws

	SL %	Wms %	Yale %	Marq %	BU %	Ind %	SC %	Hwd %	Reed %	Dav %	Bran %	Stan %
1)	34	40	29	39	41	40	43	46	27	45	28	28
2)	18	28	27	29	22	21	22	19	18	24	23	27
3)	20	21	25	21	26	23	22	21	22	18	28	28
4)	8	6	10	5	3	5	8	2	11	11	3	9
5)	7	3	7	3	3	7	4	3	13	1	7	4

25. Turning over the Post Office to a private company

	SL %	Wms %	Yale %	Marq %	BU %	Ind %	SC %	Hwd %	Reed %	Dav %	Bran %	Stan %
1)	14	34	31	34	20	25	25	13	24	34	23	27
2)	18	28	24	19	13	22	18	10	19	30	20	22
3)	17	13	17	13	12	10	13	13	14	9	17	18
4)	16	13	16	13	21	15	16	13	20	18	12	13
5)	32	12	12	20	32	24	28	46	20	8	21	18

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26. Repeal of antitrust legislation

	SL %	Wms %	Yale %	Marq %	BU %	Ind %	SC %	Hwd %	Reed %	Dav %	Bran %	Stan %
1)		3	2	3	3	2	1	2	4	2	4	1
2)	5	5	5	3	3	3	3	7	2	5	3	3
3)	13	6	10	17	21	18	23	30	13	13	14	11
4)	13	21	22	25	16	25	26	9	15	30	19	24
5)	66	64	60	50	53	50	47	46	60	49	53	57

27. Unilateral suspension of atomic weapons development

	SL %	Wms %	Yale %	Marq %	BU %	Ind %	SC %	Hwd %	Reed %	Dav %	Bran %	Stan %
1)	66	51	49	34	59	40	25	46	61	45	55	57
2)	18	27	24	27	18	19	26	17	20	23	21	22
3)	4	4	5	3	3	7	6	9	3	4	2	4
4)	4	11	11	18	9	20	22	13	9	17	9	8
5)	5	6	10	15	8	12	22	8	3	10	7	6

28. Federal aid to public schools

	SL %	Wms %	Yale %	Marq %	BU %	Ind %	SC %	Hwd %	Reed %	Dav %	Bran %	Stan %
1)	84	78	81	73	84	71	74	88	72	71	84	71
2)	9	19	11	20	10	19	18	7	15	23	7	21
3)	4	1	2	3	1	3	2	1	4		2	1
4)	1	2	2	3	1	4	3		4	3	1	3
5)			3		2	1	3		1	2	1	1

29. Federal aid to private colleges and universities

	SL %	Wms %	Yale %	Marq %	BU %	Ind %	SC %	Hwd %	Reed %	Dav %	Bran %	Stan %
1)	66	57	60	68	66	45	48	56	52	52	74	62
2)	26	29	25	26	20	27	24	24	27	30	14	26
3)	3	2	5	3	2	5	4	4	4	6	3	2
4)	1	8	5	1	6	12	15	6	8	7	1	5
5)	3	4	5		4	8	7	6	4	5	2	2

30. Government wage and price controls to check inflation

	SL %	Wms %	Yale %	Marq %	BU %	Ind %	SC %	Hwd %	Reed %	Dav %	Bran %	Stan %
1)	32	24	25	30	33	27	32	30	25	28	17	22
2)	42	43	43	44	39	44	43	39	32	41	46	38
3)	14	9	12	5	10	10	6	9	17	7	17	14
4)	5	16	17	14	8	9	12	11	13	14	8	13
5)	4	8	4	6	7	8	7	6	8	10	6	8

31. No government wage and price controls under any circumstances (save, perhaps, in time of war)

	SL %	Wms %	Yale %	Marq %	BU %	Ind %	SC %	Hwd %	Reed %	Dav %	Bran %	Stan %
1)		9	4	4	4	2	4	6	7	7	5	4
2)	8	10	8	11	12	7	11	13	6	8	7	7
3)	12	11	14	5	10	12	7	12	17	8	16	17
4)	30	34	36	38	29	35	35	21	28	35	32	32
5)	46	35	38	42	42	40	42	43	36	40	32	35

32. Recognition of Red China and support for its admission into the United Nations

	SL %	Wms %	Yale %	Marq %	BU %	Ind %	SC %	Hwd %	Reed %	Dav %	Bran %	Stan %
1)	57	57	52	24	52	33	19	33	69	34	49	50
2)	26	29	22	30	19	23	23	25	19	30	27	30
3)	11	6	9	13	12	11	13	14	5	11	8	9
4)	3	5	7	12	9	17	14	8	1	15	7	5
5)	3	1	10	20	6	14	31	13	2	9	3	2

33. Funding of weapons research, development and production necessary to maintain strategic nuclear superiority.

	SL %	Wms %	Yale %	Marq %	BU %	Ind %	SC %	Hwd %	Reed %	Dav %	Bran %	Stan %
1)	4	3	10	10	7	10	21	4	3	6	5	3
2)	4	11	8	24	11	23	38	15	6	21	9	10
3)	4	3	6	5	6	9	7	12	3	9	3	6
4)	17	36	33	34	27	29	22	34	20	31	24	22
5)	68	47	42	25	48	27	12	29	65	33	54	55

34. Federal financial aid for cultural activities to the extent of maintaining tax-supported opera, ballet, repertory theaters, orchestras, galleries, poetry fellowships, etc.

	SL %	Wms %	Yale %	Marq %	BU %	Ind %	SC %	Hwd %	Reed %	Dav %	Bran %	Stan %
1)	54	31	40	19	42	19	14	25	39	24	33	24
2)	28	36	32	33	28	28	30	23	29	30	36	33
3)	5	11	13	16	9	16	12	21	8	12	8	18
4)	8	11	10	15	8	20	20	16	10	18	14	11
5)	4	9	5	15	11	15	24	8	10	14	3	10

35. Compulsory birth control for mothers whose children are supported by publicly financed welfare programs

	SL %	Wms %	Yale %	Marq %	BU %	Ind %	SC %	Hwd %	Reed %	Dav %	Bran %	Stan %
1)	8	23	17	22	35	29	41	18	18	26	14	20
2)	22	21	22	25	24	30	27	17	17	35	31	27
3)	1	7	8	6	6	8	4	6	5	4	7	9
4)	20	22	24	18	15	17	11	13	18	14	19	20
5)	46	27	28	27	18	16	16	40	34	20	24	20

36. Establishment of national minimum welfare payment standard

	SL %	Wms %	Yale %	Marq %	BU %	Ind %	SC %	Hwd %	Reed %	Dav %	Bran %	Stan %
1)	55	48	56	42	53	37	28	57	58	39	51	45
2)	29	37	29	33	27	33	33	22	22	36	27	30
3)	7	9	8	7	6	7	15	4	6	10	7	13
4)	4	3	3	9	6	13	14	4	5	9	6	7
5)	3	3	2	8	5	9	10	4	3	5	4	2

37. Positive steps by government, beyond legal action against overt discrimination, to aid minority groups (e.g., establishing racial quotas in employment for firms doing business with government)

	SL %	Wms %	Yale %	Marq %	BU %	Ind %	SC %	Hwd %	Reed %	Dav %	Bran %	Sta %
1)	39	36	38	29	52	26	20	73	38	22	46	37
2)	34	34	26	27	24	32	25	14	32	34	25	32
3)	8	4	10	5	4	5	8	2	4	7	4	8
4)	14	13	16	23	13	20	21	1	14	21	13	12
5)	3	11	10	13	5	15	24	4	4	15	7	7

38. Legalization of marijuana

	SL %	Wms %	Yale %	Marq %	BU %	Ind %	SC %	Hwd %	Reed %	Dav %	Bran %	Sta %
1)	55	48	59	26	54	33	26	22	64	40	56	48
2)	30	28	20	28	26	21	23	23	19	24	24	2
3)	1	9	10	11	6	8	12	14	7	9	5	
4)	4	9	4	13	7	13	11	6	3	15	5	
5)	5	6	6	18	6	20	26	23	1	10	5	

39. Have you ever smoked marijuana?

1) Yes 2) No

	SL %	Wms %	Yale %	Marq %	BU %	Ind %	SC %	Hwd %	Reed %	Dav %	Bran %	Sta %
1)	82	75	65	33	74	42	34	40	76	33	65	6
2)	18	24	34	67	25	58	65	56	22	66	33	3

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40. Have you ever taken LSD?

1) Yes 2) No

	SL %	Wms %	Yale %	Marq %	BU %	Ind %	SC %	Hwd %	Reed %	Dav %	Bran %	Stan %
1)	13	18	11	4	18	10	5	1	34	5	8	11
2)	87	82	88	96	81	90	94	96	64	94	91	87

41. In your opinion, which of the following terms accurately describe American society? (Please check all appropriate responses.)

1) Too repressive
2) Too permissive
3) Too complacent
4) Racist
5) Sick

	SL %	Wms %	Yale %	Marq %	BU %	Ind %	SC %	Hwd %	Reed %	Dav %	Bran %	Stan %
1)	51	42	48	20	38	32	26	36	63	35	56	43
2)	14	10	16	17	4	12	20	13	15	13	7	12
3)	70	63	62	65	52	65	61	35	57	64	64	66
4)	58	44	49	27	41	34	27	71	62	33	51	52
5)	55	37	43	25	50	26	27	55	55	25	52	38

42. Do you consider the black power movement to be an appropriate response to the condition of the black person in America today?

1) Yes 2) No 3) Unsure or no opinion

	SL %	Wms %	Yale %	Marq %	BU %	Ind %	SC %	Hwd %	Reed %	Dav %	Bran %	Stan %
1)	79	70	64	47	65	46	40	75	77	55	65	65
2)	11	13	19	33	17	33	36	10	8	27	17	22
3)	9	16	14	20	14	18	22	12	13	16	16	13

43. In your opinion, are the separate and autonomous black studies programs now being established at some colleges and universities academically legitimate?

1) Yes 2) No 3) Unsure or no opinion

	SL %	Wms %	Yale %	Marq %	BU %	Ind %	SC %	Hwd %	Reed %	Dav %	Bran %	Stan %
1)	54	64	62	49	44	53	35	69	57	46	59	60
2)	26	18	21	25	28	21	33	15	23	26	22	19
3)	16	17	14	25	25	23	30	13	17	26	17	21

44. Do you think these programs benefit black students?

1) Yes 2) No 3) Unsure or no opinion

	SL %	Wms %	Yale %	Marq %	BU %	Ind %	SC %	Hwd %	Reed %	Dav %	Bran %	Stan %
1)	57	63	51	42	47	46	35	76	61	45	58	59
2)	16	13	19	24	21	17	30	11	10	15	16	14
3)	25	24	27	33	27	34	33	12	26	37	24	26

45. In your opinion, is it fair for college admissions offices to give preferential consideration to black applicants?

1) Yes 2) No 3) Unsure or no opinion

	SL %	Wms %	Yale %	Marq %	BU %	Ind %	SC %	Hwd %	Reed %	Dav %	Bran %	Stan %
1)	59	63	60	23	33	27	14	63	57	46	53	65
2)	25	26	26	69	52	61	80	26	23	43	29	20
3)	14	10	11	8	11	9	5	9	17	8	16	14

46. Do you think that preferential standards for blacks destroy academic excellence?

1) Yes 2) No 3) Unsure or no opinion

	SL %	Wms %	Yale %	Marq %	BU %	Ind %	SC %	Hwd %	Reed %	Dav %	Bran %	Stan %
1)	21	23	19	39	27	35	50	14	20	28	28	13
2)	63	55	62	44	50	46	29	76	59	52	52	74
3)	14	20	17	16	20	15	19	8	19	18	18	13

47. Are such standards of long-term benefit to American race relations?

1) Yes 2) No 3) Unsure or no opinion

	SL %	Wms %	Yale %	Marq %	BU %	Ind %	SC %	Hwd %	Reed %	Dav %	Bran %	Stan %
1)	53	64	59	31	40	35	21	51	52	53	49	64
2)	26	16	19	43	31	35	50	16	18	19	19	12
3)	17	19	18	24	24	25	26	29	25	26	29	23

48. All things considered, do you think more lenient college admissions standards for black applicants should be adopted?

1) Yes 2) No 3) Unsure or no opinion

	SL %	Wms %	Yale %	Marq %	BU %	Ind %	SC %	Hwd %	Reed %	Dav %	Bran %	Stan %
1)	59	61	55	36	42	38	24	63	50	54	62	63
2)	26	24	25	48	38	45	65	24	22	35	22	20
3)	11	11	17	15	15	12	9	9	23	9	13	17

49. Do you believe that integration in the United States is possible?

1) Yes 2) No 3) Unsure or no opinion

	SL %	Wms %	Yale %	Marq %	BU %	Ind %	SC %	Hwd %	Reed %	Dav %	Bran %	Stan %
1)	61	64	56	78	61	67	72	43	59	76	61	61
2)	9	14	22	9	21	16	16	39	17	10	14	16
3)	25	21	19	12	14	15	10	16	22	12	23	22

50. Do you believe that integration in the United States is desirable?

1) Yes 2) No 3) Unsure or no opinion

	SL %	Wms %	Yale %	Marq %	BU %	Ind %	SC %	Hwd %	Reed %	Dav %	Bran %	Stan %
1)	84	78	77	84	82	80	70	49	87	86	84	82
2)	3	8	11	9	6	11	17	33	2	5	3	3
3)	9	14	9	6	7	7	11	16	8	7	10	14

51. If Israel were to be attacked or invaded, which of the following courses of action would you most favor for the United States? (Please check only one response.)

1) Absolute noninterference
2) Aid to Israel short of committing American military forces
3) Aid to Israel including the commitment of American military forces, if forces are requested by Israel
4) Unsure or no opinion

	SL %	Wms %	Yale %	Marq %	BU %	Ind %	SC %	Hwd %	Reed %	Dav %	Bran %	Stan %
1)	38	26	26	38	36	39	24	57	39	32	15	41
2)	36	59	49	39	38	43	57	22	34	56	53	39
3)	5	4	8	9	10	6	12	4	8	4	21	6
4)	17	8	13	12	10	9	4	14	14	6	8	12

52. Which of the following courses of action would you most favor for the United States with regard to the Ian Smith government in Rhodesia? (Please check only one response.)

1) Absolute noninterference
2) Full support for United Nations economic sanctions designed to topple the Smith government, but no further action
3) Support in the United Nations for an international military force to bring down the Smith government, should economic sanctions fail
4) Active unilateral support for rebel elements now fighting the Smith government
5) Unsure or no opinion

	SL %	Wms %	Yale %	Marq %	BU %	Ind %	SC %	Hwd %	Reed %	Dav %	Bran %	Stan %
1)	14	21	16	23	17	28	23	26	16	24	11	18
2)	53	48	47	29	28	23	26	21	40	44	37	46
3)	9	11	12	6	11	5	6	20	13	7	16	7
4)	3	3	5	1	6	3	2	13	11	1	9	4
5)	16	17	15	39	32	37	41	17	15	22	25	22

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53. Do you think South Africa should be barred from international athletic competition?

1) Yes 2) No 3) No opinion

	SL %	Wms %	Yale %	Marq %	BU %	Ind %	SC %	Hwd %	Reed %	Dav %	Bran %	Stan %
1)	54	51	50	29	44	27	25	65	42	34	56	46
2)	32	34	40	59	45	59	65	29	39	56	33	45
3)	12	13	7	11	7	11	9	4	15	9	9	8

54. Do you think the Soviet Union should be barred from international athletic competition?

1) Yes 2) No 3) No opinion

	SL %	Wms %	Yale %	Marq %	BU %	Ind %	SC %	Hwd %	Reed %	Dav %	Bran %	Stan %
1)	3	1	4	2	2	4	4	2			2	1
2)	95	94	92	93	91	89	92	94	94	96	91	96
3)	1	3	2	5	4	4	2	3	3	1	5	2

55. Which of the following terms and phrases best describes what you would advocate for American foreign policy? (Please check only one response.)

1) Unilateral disarmament
2) Isolationism
3) Rollback of Communist power
4) Coexistence
5) Containment

	SL %	Wms %	Yale %	Marq %	BU %	Ind %	SC %	Hwd %	Reed %	Dav %	Bran %	Stan %
1)	30	19	22	16	27	18	9	19	36	18	26	30
2)		2	2	2	5	3	5	8	3	3	3	2
3)	1	1	2	5	1	3	8	4		3	1	
4)	54	74	62	68	61	62	62	57	53	66	62	61
5)	4	3	5	6	2	10	11	5	3	7	2	3

56. Which of the following best describes what you would favor for American policy in Vietnam? (Please check only one response.)

1) Escalation in pursuit of victory
2) A limited effort in search of a compromise peace
3) A negotiated withdrawal and a coalition government with the National Liberation Front
4) Immediate withdrawal

	SL %	Wms %	Yale %	Marq %	BU %	Ind %	SC %	Hwd %	Reed %	Dav %	Bran %	Stan %
1)		1	3	7	4	8	22	3	1	4	2	1
2)	3	8	7	15	6	13	15	4	3	12	4	9
3)	36	44	46	48	30	38	35	29	34	46	22	50
4)	58	46	41	26	56	36	25	59	59	34	71	39

57. Which one, if any, of the following would you most prefer to the present Selective Service System? (Please check only one response.)

1) Universal military training
2) Universal service, i.e. a requirement that all Americans of both sexes serve for a specified period of time either in the Peace Corps, VISTA, etc., or in the military
3) An all-volunteer military
4) I prefer the existing Selective System to any of the alternatives listed above
5) No opinion

	SL %	Wms %	Yale %	Marq %	BU %	Ind %	SC %	Hwd %	Reed %	Dav %	Bran %	Stan %
1)	1	2	2	2	1	3	4	4	3	3	1	1
2)	41	37	41	30	32	28	26	15	29	35	34	33
3)	46	57	50	55	57	48	53	60	59	57	57	59
4)	1	3	2	11	3	13	15	10	2	4	2	4
5)	5	1	1	3	3	3	1	8	4	1	2	2

58. In your opinion, what policy should colleges and universities adopt with regard to ROTC? (Please check only one response.)

1) All male students should be required to take ROTC
2) ROTC should be offered with academic credit on a voluntary basis
3) ROTC should be offered without academic credit on a voluntary basis
4) ROTC should be abolished

	SL %	Wms %	Yale %	Marq %	BU %	Ind %	SC %	Hwd %	Reed %	Dav %	Bran %	Stan %
1)		1				1	1	4	1	1		
2)	13	11	14	47	18	48	66	67	11	46	9	40
3)	50	68	65	45	50	35	27	17	40	47	57	45
4)	33	18	18	7	27	13	5	9	44	4	30	13

59. Which organizations do you think should be allowed to recrui on campus?

1) All organizations
2) All organizations except those that advocate the overthrov of the government
3) All organizations except the military and private companie with war-related contracts
4) No organizations

	SL %	Wms %	Yale %	Marq %	BU %	Ind %	SC %	Hwd %	Reed %	Dav %	Bran %	Star %
1)	46	78	62	48	55	46	35	46	62	64	68	70
2)	8	13	15	40	14	35	54	25	2	28	9	18
3)	16	5	11	6	18	8	3	16	9	4	13	6
4)	28	4	8	5	9	8	5	6	20	2	7	3

60-69. Indicate how large a role you think students should have i the following ten areas of college and university decision making by writing in a number signifying the following:

1) Students should have no role
2) Students should advise faculty and administration of the wishes
3) Students should have a vote as do faculty and administra tion
4) Students should exercise final decision-making power

60. Adoption of dress regulations

	SL %	Wms %	Yale %	Marq %	BU %	Ind %	SC %	Hwd %	Reed %	Dav %	Bran %	Stai %
1)				1		1		1		1		
2)	1	1	5	7	1	3	7	8	1	4		1
3)	8	11	10	27	18	17	24	17	7	14	7	12
4)	91	86	84	64	80	78	66	70	85	78	91	83

61. Establishment of dormitory visiting hours

	SL %	Wms %	Yale %	Marq %	BU %	Ind %	SC %	Hwd %	Reed %	Dav %	Bran %	Sta %
1)			1			1	1			1		
2)		3	7	16	4	8	16	16	3	12	1	1
3)	12	12	19	50	21	30	41	33	13	27	4	11
4)	88	85	73	34	74	60	40	46	79	57	93	8

62. Disciplining of students

	SL %	Wms %	Yale %	Marq %	BU %	Ind %	SC %	Hwd %	Reed %	Dav %	Bran %	Sta %
1)			6	6	4	6	5	4	1	1	1	
2)	5	11	24	31	13	23	31	17	7	18	5	1
3)	72	72	62	57	66	61	51	56	59	62	66	6
4)	22	17	8	6	16	8	11	18	27	16	26	1

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63. Establishment of curriculum

	SL %	Wms %	Yale %	Marq %	BU %	Ind %	SC %	Hwd %	Reed %	Dav %	Bran %	Stan %
1)	1		5	6	2	3	7	3	2	1	1	
2)	16	50	50	54	36	49	52	38	40	50	26	45
3)	83	49	44	38	56	45	36	51	52	46	69	48
4)		1	1	3	6	3	3	4	1		2	3

64. Grading

	SL %	Wms %	Yale %	Marq %	BU %	Ind %	SC %	Hwd %	Reed %	Dav %	Bran %	Stan %
1)	9	19	15	24	14	18	28	23	15	22	11	19
2)	26	50	38	47	35	38	39	29	37	48	31	49
3)	59	28	43	27	44	37	30	41	38	26	49	25
4)	3	3	4	2	6	7	1	2	3	1	4	4

65. Adoption of policies with regard to ROTC and recruiting

	SL %	Wms %	Yale %	Marq %	BU %	Ind %	SC %	Hwd %	Reed %	Dav %	Bran %	Stan %
1)		2	6	10	3	11	14		1	3	2	3
2)	5	26	30	34	15	33	38	16	9	31	12	23
3)	68	56	56	48	63	46	37	58	58	57	63	63
4)	26	15	8	7	18	8	9	21	25	7	22	7

66. Admission of new students

	SL %	Wms %	Yale %	Marq %	BU %	Ind %	SC %	Hwd %	Reed %	Dav %	Bran %	Stan %
1)	4	14	23	44	33	40	52	36	9	10	16	19
2)	24	62	59	40	32	38	30	36	42	53	47	50
3)	71	24	18	16	32	20	15	22	43	34	34	26
4)			1		2	1	1	2	1		1	1

67. Hiring, firing and promotion of faculty

	SL %	Wms %	Yale %	Marq %	BU %	Ind %	SC %	Hwd %	Reed %	Dav %	Bran %	Stan %
1)	3	8	19	22	6	18	33	13	3	17	7	9
2)	38	63	61	48	26	46	45	34	38	53	36	60
3)	59	28	19	30	64	34	18	48	52	26	53	26
4)		1	1		4		1		2	1	2	2

68. Establishment of fees for tuition, room and board

	SL %	Wms %	Yale %	Marq %	BU %	Ind %	SC %	Hwd %	Reed %	Dav %	Bran %	Stan %
1)	7	29	31	36	12	10	26	28	20	27	10	19
2)	59	59	46	45	42	44	35	36	44	56	38	54
3)	34	11	22	18	42	41	36	29	29	13	47	22
4)			1		2	3		2	1	1	2	1

69. Investment of college or university endowment

	SL %	Wms %	Yale %	Marq %	BU %	Ind %	SC %	Hwd %	Reed %	Dav %	Bran %	Stan %
1)	8	29	28	38	14	24	38	29	18	35	19	25
2)	57	52	48	39	37	37	33	31	49	50	36	50
3)	36	18	23	21	46	35	26	29	26	11	42	21
4)			1	1	3	1	1	3	1		1	1

70. On which of the following do you most depend for political news, information and comment? (Please check only one response.)

1) Television
2) Radio
3) Newspapers
4) Magazines

	SL %	Wms %	Yale %	Marq %	BU %	Ind %	SC %	Hwd %	Reed %	Dav %	Bran %	Stan %
1)	7	11	11	33	20	24	35	24	10	18	16	10
2)	17	1	4	10	12	13	11	10	10	3	11	11
3)	57	56	63	24	44	35	31	41	35	46	56	48
4)	18	29	19	31	20	25	20	18	33	28	13	27

71. Which of the below are your main regular printed sources of political news, information and comment? (Please check all appropriate responses.)

1) *Time*
2) *Newsweek*
3) *US News & World Report*
4) *Life*
5) *Ramparts*
6) *National Review*
7) *The Nation* or *The New Republic*
8) *New York Times*
9) Your college newspaper
10) Your local newspaper
11) Other

	SL %	Wms %	Yale %	Marq %	BU %	Ind %	SC %	Hwd %	Reed %	Dav %	Bran %	Stan %
1)	49	67	62	70	61	60	56	54	43	62	41	66
2)	41	69	44	43	48	50	49	51	39	65	48	47
3)	5	9	9	18	7	15	22	16	5	20	3	7
4)	14	23	14	26	25	25	29	36	8	37	15	14
5)	14	5	5	3	5	5	2	13	17	6	8	9
6)	3	5	4	3	2	4	6	4	3	7	1	3
7)	18	8	13	3	9	8	7	7	17	8	11	8
8)	86	87	81	7	51	10	12	31	18	10	72	14
9)	33	32	54	39	59	63	58	43	19	40	31	75
10)	12	13	17	73	62	58	80	72	63	80	39	68
11)	38	24	20	23	21	26	29	32	43	22	16	20

72. Do you think the concept of the nation state has become so dangerously anachronistic that the U.S. should take the risks involved in surrendering some of her sovereignty in a serious attempt at achieving a strong international federation or world government?

1) Yes 2) No 3) No opinion

	SL %	Wms %	Yale %	Marq %	BU %	Ind %	SC %	Hwd %	Reed %	Dav %	Bran %	Stan %
1)	53	40	40	34	43	32	23	21	66	45	44	53
2)	30	37	40	36	30	40	47	30	18	39	29	28
3)	14	22	20	28	25	27	28	37	13	13	23	16

73. If the United States should find itself in such a position that all other alternatives were closed save a world war with the Soviet Union or surrender to the Soviet Union, which would you prefer?

1) War 2) Surrender

	SL %	Wms %	Yale %	Marq %	BU %	Ind %	SC %	Hwd %	Reed %	Dav %	Bran %	Stan %
1)	17	29	37	61	32	58	74	54	13	36	22	17
2)	74	59	56	37	60	38	19	38	76	53	69	74

74. At the present time, with which of the following religious traditions are you formally affiliated?

1) Judaism
2) Roman Catholicism
3) Protestantism
4) Eastern Orthodoxy
5) Other
6) None

	SL %	Wms %	Yale %	Marq %	BU %	Ind %	SC %	Hwd %	Reed %	Dav %	Bran %	Stan %
1)	16	8	16		27	4	4	2	7	2	52	7
2)	3	12	14	75	18	20	9	15	3	3	7	12
3)	21	39	31	6	15	44	64	37	14	74	7	25
4)	1	1									1	1
5)	7	4	3	2	3	4	1	12	6	3	3	6
6)	53	36	36	16	35	27	19	33	68	16	28	46

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75. In comparison with your classmates, how intense is your concern with religious affairs in general?

1) More intense 2) Less 3) About the same

	SL %	Wms %	Yale %	Marq %	BU %	Ind %	SC %	Hwd %	Reed %	Dav %	Bran %	Stan %
1)	32	37	37	37	27	36	31	20	27	41	26	31
2)	3	8	15	16	21	14	15	16	15	13	19	16
3)	66	55	49	46	52	49	51	61	55	43	53	51

76. Indicate your participation in a college religious fellowship (Newman Club, Hillel, etc.)

1) I do not belong
2) I am an inactive member
3) I am an active member
4) I am an officer

	SL %	Wms %	Yale %	Marq %	BU %	Ind %	SC %	Hwd %	Reed %	Dav %	Bran %	Stan %
1)	96	78	80	92	89	83	87	94	96	86	79	81
2)	1	16	11	3	9	11	7	4	2	5	16	9
3)	1	3	4	4	2	4	4		1	5	2	5
4)	1	3	4	1		1	1			2	1	2

77. In what religious tradition were you raised?

1) Judaism
2) Roman Catholicism
3) Protestantism
4) Eastern Orthodoxy
5) Other
6) None

	SL %	Wms %	Yale %	Marq %	BU %	Ind %	SC %	Hwd %	Reed %	Dav %	Bran %	Stan %
1)	25	11	26		33	6	4	2	19	1	74	9
2)	16	16	17	91	30	25	11	21	9	5	10	19
3)	37	68	50	8	29	65	81	61	43	93	10	56
4)	1	1			1							1
5)	7		2		2	2		12	6	1	1	4
6)	13	4	4		4	1	1	3	20	1	4	9

78. Do you believe in immortality, if this is taken to mean the continued existence of the individual soul as a surviving entity after the end of organic life?

1) Yes 2) No

	SL %	Wms %	Yale %	Marq %	BU %	Ind %	SC %	Hwd %	Reed %	Dav %	Bran %	Stan %
1)	34	33	38	81	39	61	67	45	21	57	23	38
2)	62	58	57	16	53	35	29	49	68	36	67	49

79. In what (if any) religious tradition would you like to raise your children?

1) My own 2) Another 3) None

	SL %	Wms %	Yale %	Marq %	BU %	Ind %	SC %	Hwd %	Reed %	Dav %	Bran %	Stan %
1)	54	66	59	86	61	67	71	59	38	68	67	53
2)	13	6	15	6	10	11	11	13	8	12	4	8
3)	26	24	25	7	25	20	13	23	46	15	23	30

80. Does your practice of religion at college differ from your practice of religion at home?

1) Yes 2) No

	SL %	Wms %	Yale %	Marq %	BU %	Ind %	SC %	Hwd %	Reed %	Dav %	Bran %	Stan %
1)	32	37	40	44	24	35	35	26	18	54	26	27
2)	66	63	60	56	76	63	63	72	78	42	71	68

81. If so, which of the following are aspects of this difference? (Please check all appropriate responses.) (If your practice of religion at college does *not* differ from your practice of religion at home, please skip to next question.)

1) I attend services more regularly at college
2) I attend services more regularly at home
3) I read more about religion at college
4) I am more generally observant at college
5) I am more generally observant at home
6) I think more about religion at college
7) I think more about religion at home

	SL %	Wms %	Yale %	Marq %	BU %	Ind %	SC %	Hwd %	Reed %	Dav %	Bran %	Stan %
1)	4	5	6	15	5	8	8	10	3	4	6	11
2)	63	83	77	70	67	79	78	79	66	91	70	71
3)	38	39	29	40	20	38	18	24	34	57	19	33
4)	21	8	18	17	13	24	18	24	14	20	4	15
5)	25	14	18	19	38	25	19	21	10	14	49	16
6)	42	39	23	49	31	41	29	28	28	40	43	36
7)	17	5	6	11	11	13	12	24	7	9	15	2

82. Below are four very brief, rough statements of various attitudes toward "the Church," that is, toward organized religion. Check the one that most nearly approximates your views.

1) The Church is the one sure and infallible foundation of civilized life. Every member of society ought to be educated in it and required to support it.
2) On the whole, the Church stands for the best in human life although certain minor errors and shortcomings are necessarily apparent in it, as in all human institutions.
3) While the intentions of most individual Church members are no doubt good, the total influence of the Church may on the whole be harmful. I cannot give it my active support.
4) The Church is a stronghold of much that is unwholesome and dangerous to human welfare. As far as I am concerned the sooner it declines, the better.

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1)			1	1		2	4	2	1	1		
2)	24	36	39	66	36	56	63	54	13	51	25	39
3)	43	43	37	25	42	27	23	29	49	36	42	41
4)	21	14	17	4	16	9	6	9	29	9	26	16

83. Do you have any objection to the election as President of the United States of (please check all appropriate responses):

1) A Roman Catholic?
2) A Jew?
3) A Protestant?
4) An atheist or agnostic?

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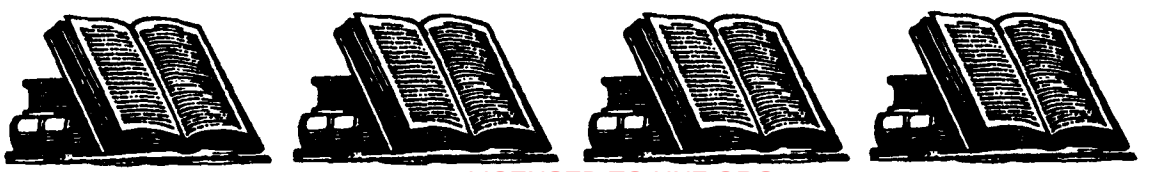
1)		1	4	1	3	1		4	2	2	2	2
2)		2	6	2	3	4	5	13	3	3	2	3
3)			3	2	1	3		2	1	2	3	1
4)	1	3	14	25	7	30	39	25	3	18	2	5

84. Do you have any objection to the election as president of your college of (please check all appropriate responses)

1) A Roman Catholic?
2) A Jew?
3) A Protestant?
4) An atheist or agnostic?

	SL %	Wms %	Yale %	Marq %	BU %	Ind %	SC %	Hwd %	Reed %	Dav %	Bran %	Stan %
1)		1	2	1	1	2	1	7	3	4	7	2
2)		3	4	9	2	3	4	16	1	7	1	3
3)			1	6		2		4	1	2	6	1
4)		1	11	29	4	20	34	19	1	17	4	2



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85. Would you have any objection to marrying (please check all appropriate responses)

1) A Roman Catholic?
2) An Orthodox Jew?
3) A Reform Jew?
4) A Protestant?
5) An atheist or agnostic?

	SL %	Wms %	Yale %	Marq %	BU %	Ind %	SC %	Hwd %	Reed %	Dav %	Bran %	Stan %
1)	39	18	23	2	33	18	20	23	31	32	44	24
2)	46	27	38	31	35	34	35	40	32	45	29	35
3)	8	9	19	21	10	24	28	33	15	30	8	17
4)	9	4	11	9	13	5	3	6	14	5	24	9
5)	7	12	20	46	19	35	45	29	6	26	12	17

If you indicated that you had no formal religious upbringing, please disregard the questions immediately below.

86. To what degree was the religious tradition in which you were raised an influence on your upbringing?

1) Very marked
2) Moderate
3) Slight
4) None at all

	SL %	Wms %	Yale %	Marq %	BU %	Ind %	SC %	Hwd %	Reed %	Dav %	Bran %	Stan %
1)	28	16	34	55	24	35	30	26	25	42	31	25
2)	42	47	39	34	43	37	50	46	43	42	39	47
3)	26	27	20	4	25	19	12	15	24	10	24	22
4)		3	4		2	2	1	4	2	1	3	3

87. Has there been a period during which you have reacted either partially or wholly against this tradition?

1) Yes 2) No

	SL %	Wms %	Yale %	Marq %	BU %	Ind %	SC %	Hwd %	Reed %	Dav %	Bran %	Stan %
1)	71	68	71	79	71	70	66	70	79	78	69	69
2)	26	24	25	15	23	24	27	21	16	16	26	27

88. If such a reaction did occur, when did significant doubt begin? (If *no* such reaction occurred, please skip.)

1) Before secondary school
2) During secondary school
3) In my freshman year
4) Later in college

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1)	30	24	19	4	22	15	8	12	40	10	23	19
2)	48	54	51	43	50	54	57	41	46	52	57	59
3)	15	20	22	26	15	20	20	23	7	24	12	14
4)	4	1	4	20	11	11	13	20	3	8	6	6

89. If your reaction against the religious tradition in which you were raised occurred after you entered college, to which of the following factors do you attribute it? (Please check no more than two or three responses.)

1) Courses dealing with religion
2) Influence of friends
3) Personal contact with faculty members
4) Increased reading in religion
5) Independence from parental ideas
6) Increased thinking about religion and related problems
7) Other

	SL %	Wms %	Yale %	Marq %	BU %	Ind %	SC %	Hwd %	Reed %	Dav %	Bran %	Stan %
1)	22	32	10	47	27	20	30	34	30	76	10	27
2)	11	59	53	35	49	33	21	16	60	30	38	42
3)		5		1	2	2	7	6		8		8
4)	11	18	23	25	10	16	26	16	20	32	5	15
5)	56	50	53	40	46	45	42	34	30	32	52	46
6)	56	86	73	79	88	73	79	84	70	78	90	77
7)	11	18	17	9	15	14	16	16		4	10	23

90. Having once reacted against the religious tradition in which you were raised, have you subsequently experienced any resurgence of religious faith and interest?

1) Yes 2) No

	SL %	Wms %	Yale %	Marq %	BU %	Ind %	SC %	Hwd %	Reed %	Dav %	Bran %	Stan %
1)	59	51	45	64	42	57	59	48	47	58	55	52
2)	39	45	53	34	56	42	41	49	50	42	44	46

91. Would you say that at the present time

1) I am in substantial agreement with the religious tradition in which I was raised?
2) I partially agree with the religious tradition in which I was raised but have important reservations?
3) I wholly reject the religious tradition in which I was raised?

	SL %	Wms %	Yale %	Marq %	BU %	Ind %	SC %	Hwd %	Reed %	Dav %	Bran %	Stan %
1)	13	8	11	17	9	17	18	11	10	10	20	9
2)	65	71	54	74	56	52	62	63	47	74	61	61
3)	22	20	33	6	32	27	19	24	40	16	19	27

92. You have stated that your religious background was Judaic. Do you at the present time consider yourself to be a Jew in any of the senses below? (Please check no more than two responses.)

1) I profess Judaism as a religion, agreeing wholly or substantially with its beliefs and traditions.
2) I tend to identify or associate with Jewish people more than Gentiles, regardless of the religious beliefs of the individuals involved, and because of this I think of myself as Jewish.
3) I consider myself Jewish only because I was born of parents who considered themselves Jewish, even if I have discarded Jewish ideas.
4) I have an interest in certain cultural features common to Jewish tradition (e.g., the music, cuisine, literature of that tradition).
5) I consider myself a Jew, but not in any of the ways listed above.
6) I completely reject my Judaism.

	SL %	Wms %	Yale %	Marq %	BU %	Ind %	SC %	Hwd %	Reed %	Dav %	Bran %	Stan %
1)	26	28	32		34	40	33		20	33	29	20
2)	11	28	25		30	47	25	50	20		35	30
3)	21	28	23	100	14	13	8		23		23	25
4)	53	39	30		38	40	33	50	50		57	35
5)	26	28	20		20	7	42	50	30		12	25
6)		6	2		3	7			3		3	5

93. Indicate those aspects of Judaism which you accept. (Please check all appropriate responses.)

1) One-person God
2) Necessity for man to work out his own salvation without the aid of mediation by a God-become-man
3) Emphasis on ethical behavior in this world as the only way to do God's will
4) Specific commandments regarding every aspect of daily life
5) Belief that, although man commits sins during his lifetime, he is not born sinful
6) Friday evening services
7) Belief in the Biblical account of God speaking to Moses on Mount Sinai as an historical event which occurred just as concretely as did Abraham Lincoln's assassination

	SL %	Wms %	Yale %	Marq %	BU %	Ind %	SC %	Hwd %	Reed %	Dav %	Bran %	Stan %
1)	16	28	34	100	53	47	92	50	17	33	35	25
2)	68	56	59	100	67	47	67	50	43	33	64	45
3)	58	50	55		54	60	33		43	33	58	40
4)	5		7	100	16	7	25	50	10	33	10	
5)	63	56	59	100	78	80	83	50	57	33	66	70
6)	21	11	16		8	33	17		13	33	14	15
7)	11	6	2		11	13	17				5	

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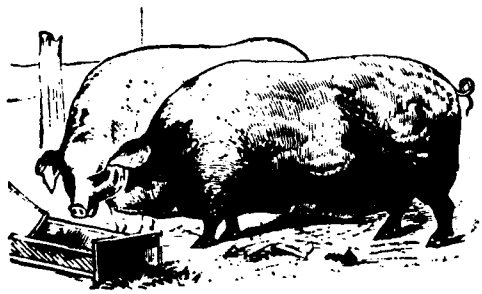

94. Which of the following statements best describes your attitude toward the state of Israel? (Please check only one response.)

1) I have an interest in Israel as my "homeland."
2) I am interested in Israel only because of its Jewish inhabitants and folk traditions.
3) My interest in Israel is no different from my interest in any other country other than the United States.

	SL %	Wms %	Yale %	Marq %	BU %	Ind %	SC %	Hwd %	Reed %	Dav %	Bran %	Stan %
1)	16	28	20		33	20	17	50	13		26	35
2)	79	50	41	100	47	53	58	50	47	33	51	35
3)	5	17	20		13	13	17		17		17	15

95. Below are several very brief, rough statements of various conceptions of the Deity. Check the one that most nearly approximates your views.

1) There is an immensely wise, omnipotent, three-person God Who created the universe and Who maintains an active concern for human affairs.
2) There is a God precisely as described in 1) except that He is absolutely One and in no sense possesses trinitarian nature.
3) I believe in a God about Whom nothing definite can be affirmed except that I sometimes sense Him as a mighty "spiritual presence" permeating all mankind and nature.
4) There is a vast, impersonal principle of order or natural uniformity working throughout the whole universe and which, though not conscious of mere human life, I choose to call "God."
5) Because of our ignorance in this matter, I see no adequate grounds for either affirming or denying the existence of God.
6) I reject all belief in anything that could reasonably be called "God" and regard every such notion as a fiction unworthy of worship.
7) Other

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1)	3	5	14	45	9	24	39	21	5	23	2	15
2)	3	3	2	3	2	4	1	3	2	1	3	1
3)	22	28	26	29	30	29	25	23	8	35	20	25
4)	22	21	20	6	22	16	10	21	17	13	28	24
5)	22	18	16	4	18	13	11	16	29	11	23	15
6)	9	4	8	2	6	4	3	4	16	6	8	9
7)	11	17	7	8	6	6	5	6	16	8	9	7

96. How often do you attend religious services?

1) Once a week or more often
2) Twice a month
3) Monthly
4) Several times a year
5) Twice a year or less
6) Not at all

	SL %	Wms %	Yale %	Marq %	BU %	Ind %	SC %	Hwd %	Reed %	Dav %	Bran %	Stan %
1)	4	10	12	49	15	25	24	22	12	15	8	24
2)	11	5	9	13	5	11	19	10		23	5	3
3)		9	9	7	6	9	11	11	1	14	4	9
4)	39	41	37	21	27	28	26	24	28	34	45	31
5)	33	18	17	5	27	14	12	12	15	9	18	19
6)	13	13	15	5	18	11	6	18	41	5	19	12

97. How often, outside of religious services, do you pray to God?

1) Daily
2) Several times a week
3) Only at specific crises in my life
4) Not at all

	SL %	Wms %	Yale %	Marq %	BU %	Ind %	SC %	Hwd %	Reed %	Dav %	Bran %	Stan %
1)	7	14	17	29	14	22	26	29	12	18	18	24
2)	13	16	18	30	23	27	33	22	7	28	9	12
3)	39	34	29	24	36	28	28	29	19	30	32	30
4)	41	32	31	14	24	22	11	14	59	23	32	31

98. Of which of the following practices do you disapprove because of your religious beliefs—i.e., which do you find objectionable not on secular grounds but because of beliefs about God's commandments? (Please check all appropriate responses.)

1) Birth control
2) Premarital intercourse
3) Extramarital intercourse
4) Divorce
5) Homosexuality
6) Abortion
7) Euthanasia (mercy killing)
8) None of the above

	SL %	Wms %	Yale %	Marq %	BU %	Ind %	SC %	Hwd %	Reed %	Dav %	Bran %	Stan %
1)		2	2	8	1	3	4	7	1	2	2	3
2)	4	5	12	27	6	23	28	17	8	18	6	12
3)	15	18	20	55	24	49	59	39	15	41	14	35
4)	2	7	8	32	7	14	19	13	8	10	4	14
5)	4	5	14	36	9	21	33	25	8	13	5	11
6)	2	12	10	43	8	17	16	23	8	6	5	11
7)	13	19	21	49	21	32	30	39	15	20	15	16
8)	74	63	57	21	59	35	29	31	73	45	68	52

99. Below are four very brief, rough statements of various attitudes toward "the person of Christ." Please check the one that most nearly approximate your views.

1) Christ should be regarded as divine; that is, the Word made flesh, the absolutely unique incarnation of the Godhead.
2) Christ should be regarded as a very great prophet or teacher much as the Muslims accept Mohammed.
3) In all probability, Christ never lived at all.
4) Another view

	SL %	Wms %	Yale %	Marq %	BU %	Ind %	SC %	Hwd %	Reed %	Dav %	Bran %	Stan %
1)	15	17	30	65	16	45	57	39	11	45	8	26
2)	52	48	51	17	56	37	24	35	53	35	58	48
3)		3	2		2		1	5	3	1	1	3
4)	33	27	12	17	21	16	14	16	27	15	28	21

Question 100 is to be answered only by those who profess belief in some form of Christianity.

100. Indicate those aspects of Christianity which you accept. (Please check all appropriate responses.)

1) The idea of God becoming flesh
2) Missionary activity
3) Emphasis on theologizing from the time of the Church fathers to the present
4) The literal truth of the Apostles' Creed
5) That interpretation of Jesus' admonition in the Sermon on the Mount—"Resist not evil. . . . Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you. . . . —which holds that a Christian must be a pacifist
6) The literal truth of the Gospel account of Jesus' resurrection —i.e., acceptance of the resurrection as an historical event which occurred as concretely as did Abraham Lincoln's assassination

	SL %	Wms %	Yale %	Marq %	BU %	Ind %	SC %	Hwd %	Reed %	Dav %	Bran %	Stan %
1)	19	31	32	76	19	48	67	43	21	56	11	33
2)	16	36	34	65	27	59	71	51	13	55	5	32
3)	13	21	16	34	10	30	22	18	13	28	4	19
4)	6	10	16	36	16	28	38	31	13	20	1	19
5)	42	38	32	34	25	38	28	28	35	31	11	36
6)	10	21	24	51	22	45	56	43	15	35	10	30

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The Climate's All Wrong

W. W. YALE

THE PRESIDENT'S Commission on an All-Volunteer Armed Force did not solve the problem of Selective Service, which expires too soon for some and too late for many. And it is unlikely that the problem will blow away, since it presents a real dilemma whose ominous ramifications remain unexplained by the Commission, the press and the government.

The Commission compiled a great mass of statistics to show that procurement of combat soldiery on a voluntary basis is in many respects feasible. But, in assuming that Selective Service should be analyzed only in terms of alternatives, it dodged judgment of the system and, especially, of the consequences of its costs, where it fails on nearly all counts.

The Presidential Commission suggested that they could, while emphasizing high-pay incentives and muting patriotism and appeal to the adventurous, attract enough young men to fill both the Army and the reserves. Without attempting to fix an upper limit on size, a total force of approximately three million men was visualized. The Commission recognized possible massive personnel requirements by recommending the maintenance of a "standby" draft apparatus, should volunteerism falter. But it failed to point out that the time for mobilization and training that sufficed in the past might not be available next time around.

The Commission concentrated on refuting the main arguments against the all-volunteer army. It would cost too much? Actually, said the Commission, there are hidden costs in the present force of volunteers and draftees that don't show up on the balance sheet and a professional all-volunteer force would, in the end, be cheaper. A loss in patriotism? The Commission saw no danger in this even though no man would henceforth be drafted in the service of his country (barring, of course, the outbreak of a major war). The danger of a military takeover? For a long time we've had an Army of two million plus semi-professionals and it has never yet tried to infringe on civil authority; it would be even more unlikely to do so, the Commission reasoned, if you added another million men to the lower ranks.

Would we have an Army composed mostly of soldiers from the minority groups? Would more blacks and Chicanos and Puerto Ricans be attracted to the flag because of a heightened pay scale and the accompanying fringe benefits? The Commission found no evidence of this although many military men disagree with that finding. Would it be easier to embark on foreign adventures if we had an all-volunteer army? Would civilian concern about the deployment of military forces be lessened? Not likely, according to the Commission.

The Commission said it was impressed with the number and quality of the individuals who had chosen to make the military life their career.

To those whose memories run back to the days when an Army private got $13 a month on which he sometimes, somehow, supported a wife, the Commission seems to place undue emphasis on pay incentives. The scales recommended—increasing per capita salaries by more than $1,500 annually—were held to be adequate only for a force of 2.5 million with added pay essential to reach a goal of three million men.

It may be that much of the stress on more money as an incentive for service stems from the fetish of "cost consciousness" that developed during the disastrous regime of Robert S. McNamara. Words such as "morale," "dedication" and "leadership" simply do not lend themselves to quantitative analysis and played no part in the computerized world of the Whiz Kids. But these are the soul of the military, and it should cause no surprise that colossal errors in strategy, or in the evolution of the C-5A or the F-111 resulted from this kind of thinking.

Still the heavy accent on pay incentives serves to highlight critical obstacles to the concept of the volunteer army. Indeed, there is every reason to believe that the rugged, adventurous types that a volunteer force would find most desirable would not be attracted primarily by higher pay. Of equal or greater importance are professional pride, prestige, an elite status.

But these are precisely the factors that today's environment militates against.

Is anyone so naïve as to believe that a military career—at any level—is in any way appealing to the majority of today's youth? The news media, particularly television, inundate us with one-sided stories of alleged military atrocities, blunders, chicanery and warmongering. Comic strips and the movies lampoon sergeants and generals. A sizable bloc in Congress viciously attacks every effort to support America's global responsibilities. All in all, the odds against anyone seeking a military career are formidable.

Max Lerner correctly assesses the mood of professional military men as angry and depressed. They've fought two conflicts, in Korea and Vietnam, under wraps; they've watched the incredible jousting over American POWs and the shape of negotiating tables in Paris; they're somehow blamed for Kent State. The military is now in the position in which the Kremlin would like to see it, isolated from the public, its morale at an all-time low, abandoned by politicians from the commander in chief on down.

UNLESS THE PRESIDENT and the Congress, together with the media, can somehow turn this around and put an end to the vilification of our soldiers, sailors and airmen, we might as well shelve any idea of an all-volunteer force. Pride and prestige are at stake here. It is not the risking of life for an extra $1,500 per year that will motivate the prospective volunteer. How serious the problem is can be seen by the number of former military schools and colleges, e.g., Manlius School and Norwich University, which have abandoned military disciplines in order to stay in business.

There are of course various sugar and spice ways of attracting volunteers: retirement benefits, educational programs, free insurance, medical care, commissary and base-exchange privileges and other emoluments. But, in the main, if the concept is to be saved,

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the nation must stop vilifying its soldiers. The situation is precarious, as anyone who has read Hanson Baldwin's *Strategy for Tomorrow* well knows.

More important than pay or privilege would be government designation of certain units of all the services that have performed outstanding service in Vietnam as "elite" troops, with special uniforms, insignia and, above all, honored public recognition from the nation they have served so well. These units would be magnets for the type of man most needed to serve in the revitalized armed forces.

THERE ARE MANY dangers in placing reliance on the all-volunteer concept. For example, some means of handling a corps of aging privates must be adopted if the volunteer system is not to fall of its own weight. In the prewar Army, and even today, the presence of elderly incompetents, both officers and enlisted men, who have gravitated to innocuous jobs that have no relation to combat roles by simply living on, is a danger. They must be ruthlessly weeded out. Such pensioners would have no function in an airborne assault on a distant, enemy-held base.

Lt. General W. P. Yarborough, Deputy CINC, U.S. Army, Pacific, says an all-volunteer force must constantly groom those in its ranks for duties two to three grades higher. Obviously, some will not make the grade and should be separated from the service just as industry gets rid of executives who don't measure up. But, since government is government, should these be given bonuses or pensions for life?

Combat forces suffer casualties. Replacements capable of filling vacancies in the complex combat teams of today must be readied. Are these to be trained volunteers on a ready status? Are existing units to be maintained on an over-strength basis?

The President's Commission seems not to have grasped that it is possible to separate the functions of the combat soldier from the administrative backup services. It may be entirely practicable to create an all-volunteer combat force of infantry-tankers-engineers, airmen and combat-area sailors, while conscripting a backup force of quartermasters, ordnance-maintenance, signal technicians and allied service support. These functions have their civilian counterparts, the period of training is correspondingly short, and the battle zone dangers probably less hazardous than those on the homefront. The "service-support" element of the Army comprises roughly from 70 to 80 per cent of its strength and would necessitate significant draft calls in the event that volunteerism could not fill the ranks of the combat forces. But the concept would serve to implement the Commission's recommendations for a "standby" draft apparatus and would at the same time allay the fears of impressment for a combat role.

Unfortunately, there is a popular misconception about the need for leadership and discipline in the noncombat forces. Most of the charges of military misconduct and ineptitude since 1945 have been leveled at the service elements. They need a strong hand, and in the sort of life to which they are accustomed a strong hand is hard to find.

Over many decades the Armed Services have kept up wholly absurd physical standards. How about the football tackle who can't pass his induction physical? In point of fact women or semicripples can perform innumerable military functions both in and out of combat. In a test some years ago a battalion of semidisabled men made high grades manning anti-aircraft weapons. The Women's Army Corps and its counterparts in the Navy, Air Force and Marines boast enviable records. Napoleon, faced with the same inexplicable turnovers in personnel that plague forces today, formed civilian administrative staffs within combat divisions and corps far removed from combat status. By abandoning silly physical standards for noncombat functions, a great deal of manpower fit for combat could be made available.

General Yarborough has pointed out that highly professionalized, tough, dedicated, hard-working and disciplined combat forces with the high standards of leadership demanded in mobile war cannot be developed on a five-day-week schedule, with appeals to a life of ease in well-appointed barracks. This concept of an all-volunteer army is bound to fail.

Experiments to determine whether the adventurous, athletic young Americans will rise to this challenge are not only worthwhile but mandatory. But if there is no challenge, if there are ice cream cones and swimming pools to detract from the toughness and team-mindedness demanded of the modern combat soldier, sailor and airman, then the all-volunteer concept is a joke.

Most important, the all-volunteer force, if it is to be successful, must feature personnel stability. Once a com-

(*Continues on page 665*)

"Get set for the latest—a 'bum-in'."

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RUSSELL KIRK

From the Academy

SIGNS OF THE TIMES

HEREWITH I offer you, friends, some news and notes on the state of education in this land. Although in general both our higher learning and our lower lie in a condition of decadence, nevertheless voices of protest at this fallen estate are heard; and here and there alternatives are presented.

First, though the lot of church-related colleges is hard nowadays, one promising new liberal-arts college (most decidedly Catholic) has appeared: Thomas Aquinas College, near Malibu, in southern California (27812 W. Mulholland Highway, Calabasas, California). It offers much for mind and conscience. It is intellectually rigorous; it is unabashedly Christian; and it is on a humane scale. Its doors (those of a former seminary) will open to undergraduates this autumn. The institution does not expect to enroll more than three hundred students, ever. Its faculty, this first year, consists of a dozen able scholars; Dr. Ronald P. McArthur is president, and Peter DeLucas is executive secretary.

This college's curriculum—founded in part upon the model of St. John's College, Annapolis and Santa Fe—is unusually interesting, drawing upon the medieval trivium and quadrivium. There will be a two-year language tutorial (Latin); a one-year logic tutorial; a four-year mathematics tutorial; a one-year music tutorial; a three-year philosophy tutorial; and a four-year theology tutorial. Also there will be a four-year laboratory course, and a four-year seminar—this last a "great books" approach, in considerable part. A formal series of lectures by visiting scholars is an integral feature of the curriculum, and there will be "preceptorials," or programs of intensive specialized study. In fine, a young person who finds thinking painful ought not to apply for admission.

For students, and students' parents, who desire to participate in the Catholic tradition of genuine education, the new Thomas Aquinas College is the answer to prayers; and doubtless not a few young people who are not Catholics will be attracted by an educational program that pursues a genuinely intellectual means to an ethical end. Say not the struggle naught availeth.

Second, I commend to you a succinct little book about what is wrong with American schooling at every level, and what may be done to amend matters: *Education in America* by Dr. George Charles Roche III (Foundation for Economic Education, Irvington-on-Hudson, New York).

Dr. Roche takes up the causes of the decay of learning among us; the ethical framework of true education; the plague of scientism; the decline of intellect; the collapse of discipline; the phenomenon of perpetual adolescence; the damage done by centralization and the cult of the colossal in schooling; that monster called the multiversity; the difficulties of academic freedom; campus rebellion; questions of creativity; and "a philosophy of growth." The author is far from despairing.

"EDUCATIONAL REFORM must begin with parents as individuals," Dr. Roche writes in conclusion, "with the recognition that better upbringing for their children lies in their hands, not in the hands of the state. If and when enough parents begin living their lives self-responsibly and apply such principles to their children who are an extension of self, a new educational day will have dawned. . . . Instead, let each act in his own small orbit, with his own children, with those whom he influences directly. If one's example and understanding are of high enough quality, the educational picture will begin to change *no matter what course politicalized education might take*."

Third, some students at state universities are beginning to protest against the sacrifice of intellectual standards to mass enrollments. Take, for instance, controversies at the University of Virginia.

Between 1960 and 1970, enrollment at Charlottesville more than doubled. That's not nearly enough to satisfy the president of the University of Virginia, who wants a thousand more students next year, fourteen thousand by 1977, and eighteen thousand by 1980. (The present enrollment is less than eleven thousand.) "Sic transit gloria Jefferson," a graduate student there writes to me.

He is not alone. The Student Council and the student newspaper, the *Cavalier Daily*, have taken alarm. Over a three-year period the number of applications for admission to the University has decreased—but the number of acceptances of freshmen has increased. In effect, standards already have been lowered to attract a larger student body, at whatever cost to quality of education.

As an editorial in the *Cavalier Daily* argues, this indiscriminate expansion at Charlottesville, unlikely to be well-financed, may bring consequences miserable for all concerned. The parking problem alone, already dreadful, might suffice to bring on disorders. "Legislators, who are so concerned with campus violence, should know that the most violent demonstration on the grounds in recent history was not the strike of last May, but rather the car riots of 1957."

The students at Charlottesville suggest practical alternatives to turning the University of Virginia, with its beautiful buildings and traditions of civility, into Behemoth U. They are wiser than Dr. Clark Kerr, sometime Chancellor of the University of California, who wanders over the face of the land declaring that all our higher education needs in more hair of the dog. □

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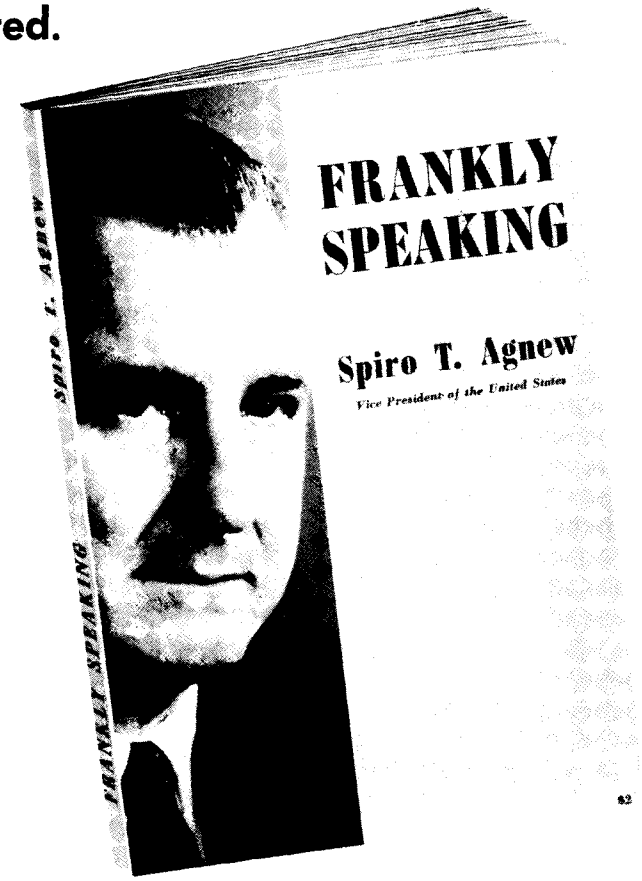
"Perhaps the place to start looking for a credibility gap is not in the offices of the government in Washington, but in the studios of the networks in New York."

"I do not overstate the case. If I am aware of the danger, the convicted rapist Eldridge Cleaver is aware of the potential."

"It is worth remembering that our country's founding fathers wisely shaped a constitutional republic, not a pure democracy."

"These arrogant ones and their admirers in the Congress, who reach almost for equal arrogance at times, are . . . asking us to repudiate principles that have made this country great . . . They have a masochistic compulsion to destroy their country's strength."



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"Frankly Speaking" by Vice President Spiro Agnew is an unusual book by a unique Vice President. Never before has a modern Vice President been so outspoken or so bold in his opinions on the most crucial issues facing America. Agnew takes on student radicals, university professors, Vietnam War critics, the TV networks, "The New York Times"—in addition to airing his views on the effectiveness of contemporary education, what a republic should be (and what it ***shouldn't*** *be), plus many other controversial subjects. This book is a collection of the famous Agnew speeches that you have heard and read so much about—and that have drawn such heavy fire from the liberal establishment. ("Radicalism in Our Midst," "Racism, the South and the New Left," "Impudence in the Streets," "The Politics of Protest," "Education For What?," and "The Responsibilities of Television" to name just a few titles.) This is your chance to find out* ***exactly*** *what Agnew said at the time. You'll enjoy reading (and quoting from) this lively, fascinating book. Just published, it sells for $2.00.*

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DELECTATIONS

A Miracle of Rare Device

KARL R. ZIMMERMANN

IMAGINE YOURSELF in the happy position of stepping out onto the platform at Los Angeles Union Passenger Terminal or Dearborn Station in Chicago. Stretched before you is a long streak of silver, glimmering with allure in the half-light of dusk. The windows of bedrooms and roomettes glow cozily, promising rest and comfort, a home away from home. Up ahead multiple diesel units, anxious to be off across the continent, chant impatiently. You pass by Pullmans—Pine Beach, Indian Squaw, Regal Court—until you reach your own. At the vestibule is your porter, resplendent in dark-blue livery, ready to show you to your bedroom. Once aboard, you soon feel a gentle tug signaling the beginning of your 2,222 mile journey through the infinite variety of America.

This is the Santa Fe's Super Chief, a train worth talking about. It is clean, impeccably maintained, well-staffed and equipped in the grand manner through which it originally gained its fame.

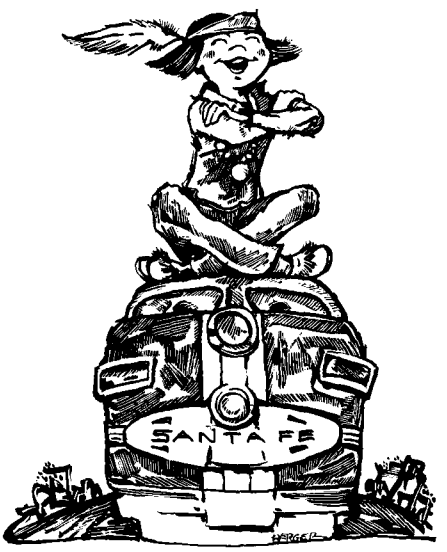
The Super Chief has been synonymous with excellence ever since its inauguration in 1936 as an extra-fare, luxury heavyweight train. Quickly proving its worth, the Super was fully equipped the next year with cars in the then-new streamliner mode. In 1948 the schedule was changed from weekly to daily. The equipment in use now, introduced in 1950 and 1951, received a major refurbishing in 1958. The train has aged well and retains a crisp, new feeling.

What can you expect when you board the Super Chief today? My wife and I, on a recent trip, found convenience, courtesy, comfort and a renewal of acquaintance with America.

The essential ingredient is the Santa Fe's awareness that aesthetics are as important an element of travel as speed. Getting from one place to the other is not for the civilized voyager the sole aim of travel; equally important is what happens along the way. The Super Chief reminds you that "first class" once meant something more than a few extra inches of seat.

The Santa Fe, like Kubla Khan, decreed a "Pleasure Dome," which Pullman-Standard was pleased to supply. This fine lounge car, borrowing both name and spirit from Coleridge, has many luxurious and unusual features. It is softly lighted and reminiscent of a tastefully furnished living room, is just right for reading, watching the passing landscape, or engaging in conversation.

Under the raised observation area is tucked a snug little cocktail bar, where a steward served expertly-mixed drinks as we watched the lights flickering on in houses along the way. We reveled in the fine sense of security which comes from being inside a train looking out at the world scrambling about its business.



Adjacent to the bar is the car's most unusual feature—the Turquoise Room for private dining. Wood-paneled and dominated by a large turquoise medallion of Indian design, this handsome room may be reserved in advance by groups of six to ten. Well-iced, silver-bucketed champagne is no stranger here.

My wife and I especially enjoyed the dome area. Since the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroad introduced the concept of the Vista-Dome in the mid-Forties, virtually every noteworthy Western train with substantial daylight running in its schedule has carried out some variation on this theme. The Super Chief's car, however, has a unique feature. Rather than the usual four seats across the dome, there are only two, which pivot in parlor-car fashion. For comfort, the entire car is, as the poet said, " . . . a miracle of rare device/ A sunny pleasure dome. . . ."

Night had long fallen over the California hills when we moved from the lounge into the diner. From the moment the porter passed through the Pullmans playing the dinner chimes, till the waiter brought our fluted silver finger bowls, we were reminded that the great tradition of dining in transit survives. For those in an extravagant mood, there's the "Champagne Dinner," a feast of shrimp cocktail and charcoal-broiled sirloin. Other dinners include mountain trout and filet mignon with sauce bearnaise.

THE SANTA FE stints in no way. Service is on interesting Mimbreno china; each piece bears a different Indian pictograph. In the bud vases are God's own roses, sweet-smelling and fresh. The waiters haven't yet mastered the seemingly universal lessons of surliness.

Although the Santa Fe's route is less spectacular than some of the more northerly transcontinentals, we did get a fine feeling of the vastness of the West. The railroad has always been very conscious of American Indian aesthetics, and the typical Southwestern terrain outside the cars blends beautifully with the interior designs.

On the first afternoon out we were treated to the line's finest scenery. New Mexico's rugged Apache Canyon was barely by when we began the ascent to Raton Pass, the highest point on the railroad. For a short distance, the Santa Fe becomes a mountain-killer. More important than any particular view, however, is the sense of movement and ever-changing landscape which provides a meaningful continuity with our westering forebears.

Somewhere here is grounded the Super Chief mystique, the reason why crossing the continent in its cars is such a wonderful experience. Scenery, service, food and equipment are all elements of its magic, but even in sum are not a full explanation. Somehow there is a thrill in eating up the miles, in watching small-town America blur by, in being aware of each mountain range or river. Then, too, there is the sense of the rightness of things, the gracious but not ostentatious luxury of

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The Times' Loss, History's Gain

JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

The Consent of the Governed and Other Deceits
By Arthur Krock
Little, Brown, 290 pp., $7.95

Arthur Krock, who would have much preferred to stay in New York in the early Thirties when the *New York Times* sent him back to Washington as Bureau Chief (he preferred prize fighters to politicians), is disarming about his career. As he puts it in "The Power of the Press," one of the trenchant historical essays in this sequel to his memoirs, his enemy FDR once picked him for an exclusive interview primarily because he represented the *Times*, which was the most desirable medium for Presidential purposes.

Well, it is true that Arthur got his share of beats simply because he was the *Times* man in Washington, and even Presidents who disliked him had to deal with him. But it is also true that the *Times* was often favored because Krock was Krock, a free-wheeler who could place a distinctly un-*Times* column on the editorial page. The fact that he shed more glory on the *Times* than the *Times* did on him became more and more apparent as the older liberals of the staff, as represented by editor Charles Merz, Simeon Strunsky (the "Topics" column writer) and Henry Hazlitt were either retired or drifted away, abandoning the scene to the likes of Tom Wicker, who welcomed the scruffy rabble in the Chicago streets of 1968 as his own children. Krock hung on for a terminal period of lonely splendor, and at the end the cynics were saying that he was one of the *Times*' "two honest men," the other being Hanson Baldwin, the military reporter. Though the cynics manifestly slandered such good observers as Cyrus Sulzberger, and discounted the sound journalistic impulse that went into the creation of the *Times* Op Ed page, one could see what they were trying to convey. The *Times* badly needs a Krock, and it was stupid to retire him when he was still writing rings around everybody else on its Washington staff.

The *Times*' loss, however, is historical literature's gain. The big essays in Arthur Krock's book are the ones called "The Presidency" and "Advisers —Official and Unofficial," which provide readings of the same span of history from two complementary angles. Arthur Krock's two spells in Washington—he was there in Woodrow Wilson's time and he returned after a fifteen-year absence to greet the New Deal—coincided with the two great modern periods of Presidential aggrandizement. Krock understands the need for centralizing power in wartime, but he has never liked deception. He could accept the "loan" of fifty over-age destroyers to Britain in a time of crisis as part of the "stewardship" theory promulgated originally by Theodore Roosevelt, but when Franklin Roosevelt chivvied Congress into approving Lend Lease as a "means to keep the United States from becoming involved abroad" he considered it to be "gross deception on the part of the Administration."

Krock does not let down his friends, and when he ran the *Times* Washington Bureau he never tried to shift the blame for Bureau failures to the shoulders of underlings. On the other hand, he would not let a friend buy from him a distortion of history or journalistic judgment. Thus, though he was extremely close to Joe Kennedy, he says forthrightly that John F. Kennedy's "first major mistake" (the approval of the invasion of Cuba) was compounded "by cancelling the second U.S. airstrike" that the Chiefs of Staff had been counting on as promised. Krock is generally hard on John F. Kennedy, though he liked him personally. He thinks JFK's active military support of the campaign to drive Tshombe out of Katanga was not only stupid but a pattern-making foretaste of "the bitterest fruit . . . the ground war in Vietnam." JFK, in Krock's opinion, "yielded to Sukarno's military blackmail, a clear violation of the United Nations Charter," in the West New Guinea abandonment, and the best he can do for Kennedy in the Cuban missile crisis is to say that our "victory" was a compromise "in which the USSR won major points."

Krock's judgments have always been independent of the current clichés. And his ironical observations are always rooted in accurate historical perceptions. Agnew's campaign for a Republican Senate in 1970 failed because it started too early, thus giving time for Adlai Stevenson III and other Democratic liberals to "out-Agnew Agnew" by such dodges as sticking American flags in their lapels and cottoning up

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to Boss Daley. To Krock, it was the Fulbright Resolution that set the stage for our post-World War II interventionist diplomacy, and it was Fulbright's approval that gave Lyndon Johnson the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution that permitted the dispatch of 500,000 Americans to Vietnam to non-fight the war that has broken the U.S. peace at home. Krock gives Fulbright credit for political courage in shifting his ground, but on the basis of the evidence cited here Fulbright cannot be considered a man of any perspicacity whatsoever.

Krock, a somewhat lukewarm admirer of Harry Truman, traces the Truman Doctrine to Jimmy Byrnes, who, as Secretary of State, "laid the foundations of the United States policies that replaced with realism Roosevelt's long-enduring mistaken appraisal of the USSR." So, now that the latest school of silly revisionists is claiming that Truman was the first "McCarthyite," a revision of the revision will have to make Byrnes the true "villain." To Krock, of course, Byrnes is one of our forgotten heroes, along with James Forrestal.

KROCK THINKS Richard Nixon will stand or fall on his ability to integrate the public schools "short of the point where qualified education and the neighborhood school are sacrificed to it"; to withdraw from Vietnam "except for a watchdog force for as few years as necessary"; to reconstitute a Supreme Court that will go by "the law of the case"; to get inflation under control; and to restore such diverse things as rail transport, crime control and trust in government generally. To do the requisite things, Nixon will have to care more for the nation's interest than his own re-election. He warns Nixon that he will get no cooperation from "the George Meanys" and the liberals no matter what he does. So he might as well do right. "The reward of the political risk," says Krock, "can yet be extended tenure in which the mission can be completed."

Arthur Krock is a deadly serious man. But he has his lighter side, and there is much in this book that is fun, sometimes of a most earthy variety. Arthur used to sit next to H. L. Mencken at national conventions; if Menckenism did not rub off on him to the point of tincturing his style, it at least modified his way of looking at the average politico, who can seldom be called a statesman with any accuracy, even when dead. America has always managed to survive its politicians, but will it be able to survive a press that considers a Tom Wicker to be a logical replacement for an Arthur Krock? □

Easter Island: Island of Enigmas
By John Dos Passos
Doubleday, 150 pp., $6.95

SAD AUGURY

JOHN GREENWAY

The greatest of my teachers, a man discarded by a world not worthy of him, told me not long before he died about a small incident that helped set his own path through the last, short, golden years. He had been wandering with his thoughts along a lonely beach when he came upon another man, twenty years nearer the sunset, walking slowly, bent by age and his occupation of picking up shells. My teacher recognized him as a scholar long forgotten and thought dead by lesser men who unknowingly were building upon his contributions to science. There was no need for either to speak, but the older man made meaning explicit for others, like myself, who needed the words: "This is the whole of life—to collect shells."

My teacher, MacEdward Leach, and America's teacher, John Dos Passos, each chose a desolate beach to collect their shells while civilization slipped into the hands of the Yahoos—literature to the Brautigans, art to the Warhols, society to the Mansons. Leach, who taught the sagas because there was no employment for Vikings in this worst of all possible centuries, went to Newfoundland where the strand was cold, hostile, windswept, but strong, and there he blended indistinguishably into the Newfoundland fishermen. Dos Passos chose a warmer shore for his Shangri La—Easter Island, 1,600 miles deeper into the remote Pacific than Pitcairn, where the *Bounty* mutineers lived out their brief and brutal destiny.

"Why Easter Island?" Dos Passos asks rhetorically, and answers, for its mysteries, for its romance, for the "savage brooding melancholy" he remembered in the sad, dark gray face of one of its statues he saw as a boy in the British Museum. Believing thus in the unreality of his own romancing, as Schliemann believed in his imagined mission to find Troy, Dos Passos set up an insuperable barrier to making a book of any worth. As a contribution to knowledge, it is negligible. To prepare himself for his visit he learned a little from Thor Heyerdahl, which is about as profitable as consulting a cow on catechism. He also fed soup to Easter's missionary, Father Sebastian, on that taciturn recluse's visit to New York in 1968, but got nothing from him except a slurp, a smile and a shake of his venerable beard. So more than 80 per cent of his book is the quoted observations of earlier visitors—Roggeveen in 1721, San Carlos in 1770, Cook in 1774, La Pérouse in 1786, Loti in 1872, Thomson in 1886. Curiously, only one of these explorers stayed longer than a week with the gray-faced statues. La Pérouse left for his appointment in a Melanesian Samarra after only half a day. Dos Passos himself rested only a week in his Island of Enigmas.

But he could not escape his genius. In four paragraphs—one page—he says more about the ultimate meaning of Easter Island than all its previous visitors. This was a society, he writes, damned to show "that man's capacity for creative work is almost infinite, but that it is matched almost evenly by the impulse to destroy."

The statues overwhelmed all other visitors. What are they, in cold fact? Nothing much. I remembered as a young carpenter trying to impress a masonry contractor with the mystery of Gizeh's great Pyramid. "Hell," he said, "give me enough men and I'll build one twice as big." Exactly so. The real enigma of Easter Island is what manner of madness drove its inhabitants to destroy almost entirely a respectable example of marginal Polynesian culture. Somewhere toward the end of our seventeenth century they killed their upper class, wiped out their Establishment, and pulled down their statues. No doubt some Marcuse among them argued that to save their civilization they had to destroy it. So when the first white men stopped at their island only a lifetime after the social insanity began, no one knew how the statues were made or why—nor why they were pulled down. Some old men kept the boards with the *rongorongo* writing, but no one could read them.

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They had torn down every tree on the island and had lost nearly the whole of their legacy of food supply. They were eating one another, not for religion, as elsewhere in the Pacific, but for sustenance. The only human skill any of the early mariners found highly developed among the Easter Islanders was theft. They had become Eloi with the disposition of Morlocks.

So John Dos Passos went to collect his shells on this bleak, waterless, treeless wilderness and wrote from his week on the gray beaches a romance, so he thought; but what he really left us in this slight book written on the edge of his evening is a prophecy and a conclusion it looks unlikely we will escape. □

The Performing Self
By Richard Poirier
Oxford, 203 pp., $6.50

HOW TO BE A CULTURE HERO

RONALD BERMAN

The blurb implies that Mr. Poirier is a cross between Prometheus and Sigmund Freud, but we might better think of him as an academic Coco Chanel. What an eye for the season's skirt-length: he hates Nixon, Agnew and Reagan; deplores our acts of genocide in Vietnam; proves that the Beatles are the equivalent of T. S. Eliot; and informs us of the middle-class War Against The Young. What a trial it must be to defend views as heterodox as these. After all, who at a university is going to believe all this? Some professors just don't care about popularity as long as they're honest.

I've heard the Renaissance described as a time of Great Questions, but I don't think it had anything on this: "Before asking questions about the propriety of young militants who occupy buildings, burn cars, and fight the police, let's first ask what kind of world surrounds these acts." It seems a pity to bring reason into this discussion, because it flourishes so beautifully without it. But, if only to be tiresome, we ought to refer to actual events over the past two years. What if the buildings have been burned, with people in them? What if the cars have been loaded with explosives and blown up? What if the police, in fact, have been assassinated in numbers, which in any other country would have brought on a suspension of civil laws and the customs of toleration?

The argument, if that is the right word, proceeds: "We're in danger of becoming like the Germans before the war. . . . Such analogies to our present situation, and even more to an anticipated one, are not exact, but they are becoming increasingly less remote with each new crime bill contrived by the office of Attorney General Mitchell." Now, it is satisfying to conservatives as well as liberals to see Martha's husband get his lumps, but it does seem a pity that Logic, which is merely an innocent bystander, should also have to take a pie in the face. All this derives from the tireless fulminations of the infant Left and has been transplanted to show that there is really no gap between the generations of radicalism. And, it offers a marvelous *frisson* available to those who view "Amerikan" culture through the eyes of Bertrand Russell and Herbert Marcuse, the Abbott and Costello of political philosophy.

Better yet, the argument from history: "For those who fought in it and are now the middle generation and parents of the young, World War II gave absolutely the worst kind of schooling. It trained us to think in extraordinarily simplistic terms about politics and history." It doesn't take an Abelard to unwind this: we ought to disown our past and scuttle its values. After all, if we've committed the sin of certainty, of viewing the world through the myopic glass of morality, then we are certainly not going to understand the saving grace of absolute freedom. Those burning cars and occupied buildings then become symbolic of a more authentic relationship to a world but half-understood. QED.

I blush to admit it, but I too have a vested interest in universities. I make my living at one. Which may be the reason behind my appalled admiration of Mr. Poirier's fantasies. I'm in somewhat the position of the doctor in *The Bridge over the River Kwai*—as the action takes on ever more daring and confused shape, as the bridge is destroyed even in the act of completion, I can only shake my head and say, "Madness, pure madness." What is it that this apologist believes "the radical youth want to do?" Only "expose the mere contingency of facts which have been considered essential." That is, expose as mere superstitions our ideas of honor, decorum, objectivity and minimal social order.

This works very well if we are dealing with Hobbes and Bishop Berkeley, but we are not all academics. If the essential facts have to do with the tension of appearance and reality or other metaphysical problems I'm as willing as Hamlet to grant that we don't see very deeply into universal truth. But if the facts which are merely contingent have to do with our habits, customs, traditions, laws and other saving social graces then I can understand middle-class intolerance. No society can flourish without faith in what it is. One doesn't have to be a natural law conservative; sociology is as direct a route to the acceptance of cultural truths as any ideology. It is only the amateur who can believe that all cultural practices are open to investigation and change; that mutability and revolutionism should be characteristic of a social system; that a society, like a university, might be "a place where curricula are discovered anew perhaps every year or so." What a conversation piece for a seminar. What an epigram for the third Martini. What an appalling idiocy for the real world whose struggle with time and Nature enforces on it the reasons for a structure.

THE LATEST ORTHODOXIES of the student Left are repeated as if they were the Epistles of St. Paul. They may even have an analogous function: "The universities need to dismantle their entire academic structure, their systems of courses and requirements, their notion of what constitutes the proper fields and subjects of academic inquiry"—both in themselves, to be sure, and as models of that larger process of demythologizing applied to the entire culture. It is an inspiriting thought: to handle a mess, extrapolate it to its universal form. But there is a special irony to this argument. The danger of predicting this year's fashion, even unto Poirier, Balenciaga and St. Laurent, is that the public has an untoward habit of resistance.

Even while student radicals are identified with all students, and all students with "The Young" (an objective correlative for middle-aged parlor radicals) the facts persist in their clumsy and unattractive way. Students have gone back to their work. Some have even cut their

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hair. Most are worried about achieving middle-class status. Demonstrations have become as dated as the Charleston. It's really too bad. Just when the elderly academics find a monkey for the chestnuts the fire is put out.

In short, this is a book about massive social problems to which the author has a ready solution. Like the rest of the academic Left he has plans for our salvation. Dare one recall that great moment in *The Pickwick Papers* when the hero, skating on thin ice, falls through and into the creek:

> Mr. Tupman, by way of rendering the promptest assistance, and at the same time conveying to any persons who might be within hearing, the clearest possible notion of the catastrophe, ran off across country at his utmost speed, screaming "Fire!" with all his might.

I guess it isn't really necessary to point a moral and adorn a tale. □

Rules for Radicals
By Saul D. Alinsky
Random House, 196 pp., $6.95

CROAK FOR A GENERATION

JOHN R. COYNE JR.

So this is Saul Alinsky, the "radical's radical," the man who organized the workers in Upton Sinclair's jungle, the firebrand who scared the beans out of Eastman Kodak in Rochester, director of the Industrial Areas Foundation, teacher of César Chavez. What a letdown. Had a right-winger written a book like this, the vanity presses wouldn't have touched it.

Alinsky is incredibly pompous: "Today my notoriety and the hysterical instant reaction of the establishment not only validate my credentials of competency but also insure automatic popular invitation." He delights in dredging up old chestnuts, fiddling a bit with the wording, then presenting them as his very own clichés: "Essentially, life is a tragedy; and the converse of tragedy is comedy." Wow. Never looked at it *that* way. And how about this comment on blue-collar types: "They use revealing adjectives such as 'outside agitators' or 'troublemakers' and other 'when did you last beat your wife' questions." Now you could write about that sentence all day. Revealing *adjectives*? Revealing adjectives and *other questions*? And anyhow, where's the sense? Why in the world should a self-professed outside agitator who teaches would-be outside agitators how to agitate find it paranoiac of blue-collar workers to blame outside agitators for agitating?

The whole book is like this. "The one thing certain is that masses of middle-class Americans are ready to move toward major confrontations with corporate America." Does that sound like the middle class you know? Alinsky seems to understand middle America, which he hopes to organize, in the same way he understands adjectives. "The middle classes are numb, bewildered, scared into silence." Why? Because of Richard Nixon's move into Cambodia last spring, explains Alinsky. Now this, of course, is flapdoodle. Poll after poll showed that middle America heavily supported the Cambodian operation. Negative reactions came only from the media and the campuses, and those are hardly the stamping grounds of middle America.

Alinsky is in a most uncomfortable position for any professional radical: He's out of touch. "Let us take one of the negative stereotypes that so many whites have of blacks: that blacks like to sit around eating watermelon." Now that was the stereotype back in the Thirties and Forties, when Alinsky got his start. But today even the most bigoted bigot wouldn't see its relevance, any more than he'd be inclined to say "twenty-three skidoo" to a pretty secretary.

Rules for Radicals is a semi-coherent croak from the rather small heart of an aging radical who wants to get back out in front of a revolutionary movement he finds himself lagging along behind. "These words are written in desperation, partly because it is what they [the New Leftists] do and will do that will give meaning to what I and the radicals of my generation have done with our lives."

RANDOM NOTES

■ JUST OUT: Daniel Berrigan still contemplating his navel. Now it's *The Dark Night of Resistance* (Doubleday, $4.95). . . . Solzhenitsyn's latest is *Stories and Prose Poems* (Farrar, $7.95). . . . Vladimir Petrov's *A Study in Diplomacy* traces the career of Arthur Bliss Lane (Regnery, $12). From the same house comes *Duke: The Story of John Wayne* by Mike Tomkies.

Theodore J. Lowi proposes an "anti-leadership system" and an amalgam of law, disorder and civil liberties, the whole hair-of-the-dog-that-bit-you package designed, somehow, to Make Things Better. The apt title is *The Politics of Disorder* (Basic, $6.95). . . . *N.Y. Times*man Theodore Bernstein, apostle of common-sense usage, spreads the gospel anew in *Miss Thistlebottom's Hobgoblins: The Careful Writer's Guide to the Taboos, Bugbears and Outmoded Rules of English Usage* (Farrar, $7.95). . . . Speaking of language, LeRoi Jones speaks one all his own. He collects his essays and calls the result *Raise Race Rays Raze* (Random House, $5.95). . . . Sen. Howard Baker contributes the introduction to the latest effusion from the Ripon Society, *Instead of Revolution* (Hawthorn, $6.95).

■ JULY BOOKS: *The Memoirs of Marshal Zhukov* is Russian in length (Delacorte, $15). . . . *Dear Max/Dear Scott* reproduces the Perkins-Fitzgerald correspondence (Scribner, $8.95). . . . Noel Gerson takes inventory of the life and loves of Lillie Langry in *Because I Loved Him*. Her most famous beau was Edward VII (Morrow, $5.95).

■ LOOKING TOWARD AUGUST. Dostoevsky's *The Adolescent* out in a new translation by Andrew MacAndrew (Doubleday, $10). From the same house, *Victor Borge's Unauthorized Lives of Composers . . . Who Would Prefer I Let Them Rest in Peace* ($3.95). . . . *The Last and the First* is a posthumous novel by Ivy Compton-Burnett (Knopf, $5.95). . . . Joseph Berger, a founder of the Palestine Communist Party, was summoned to Moscow in 1932, imprisoned for 21 years in 1935. His memoir is entitled *Nothing But the Truth* (John Day, $7.95). . . . *Goethe's Faust, Part I* is a new translation by the late Randall Jarrell (Farrar, $7.95; paper, $1.95). . . . Agatha Christie's *The Golden Ball* features fifteen short stories (Dodd, Mead, $5.95). . . . Midge Decter ruminates on *The Liberated Woman and Other Americans* (Coward, McCann, $6.95).

A marvelous idea from James Camp, X. J. Kennedy and Keith Waldrop, editors: *Pegasus Descending: A Treasury of the Best Bad Poems in English* (Macmillan, $3.95). How many of your favorites are here? Also from Macmillan, Robert Kutz's *The Fall of the House of Savoy* ($12.50).

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The whole structure of the book reeks of desperation. The prologue, in which Alinsky states that the purpose of *Rules* is to provide radicals with a manual for organizing the middle class, and the last couple of chapters, contain some original material. But sandwiched in between are undigested chunks of out-of-date talks, interviews and articles, few of which have anything to do with organizing the middle class. And when he does finally get down to discussing the organizing process, his program seems a bit less than dazzling: The idea is to get the middle class to donate their money to a stock-buying corporation headed by—you guessed it—Saul Alinsky.

"If I go into this it means leaving the Industrial Areas Foundation after thirty years—the organization I built," laments Alinsky, much in the manner of all capitalist entrepreneurs. But then the Industrial Areas Foundation, a tax-exempt organization that charges a healthy fee for its activities, hasn't been doing so well lately. Seems this blasted younger generation of radicals insists on taking things into its own hands. And one suspects that Alinsky's rules—get haircuts, don't call cops pigs, etc.—will cut very little ice among them. Alinsky's primary concern is to get control of the radical movement and use it to milk the middle class. But New Leftists, with the exception of such stand-up comics as Rubin and Hoffman, don't seem to have as much respect for the profit motive as does Alinsky.

THIS IS A SHALLOW and silly book, but it will be treated with respect by those radical chic types who admire Alinsky for advocating a nice non-messy sort of revolution. They'll quote this passage approvingly: "What is the alternative to working 'inside' the system? A mess of rhetorical garbage about 'Burn the system down!' Yippie yells of 'Do it!' or 'Do your thing.' What else? Bombs? Sniping? . . . 'Power comes out of the barrel of a gun!' is an absurd rallying cry when the other side has all the guns." See, they'll say. *Inside* the system. Working *within* it. Isn't that *nice*. And they'll just skip over that quote from Lenin that Alinsky uses later: "They have the guns and therefore we are for peace and for reformation through the ballot. When we have the guns then it will be through the bullet."

One hopes that because *Rules for Radicals* is so bad, its program so crackbrained, the revolutionaries won't get the message. □

Clare Boothe Luce
By Stephen Shadegg
Simon & Schuster, 313 pp., $7.95

BEAUTY, BRAINS AND COURAGE

EDWIN McDOWELL

After a national poll disclosed that, except for Marlene Dietrich, Congresswoman Clare Boothe Luce was thought to have the most beautiful pair of legs in America, a colleague teased: "Don't you think it's beneath the dignity of this House to have one of its members voted among the six women in America with the most beautiful legs?" Whereupon Mrs. Luce replied: "Don't you realize, Congressman, that you are just falling for some subtle New Deal propaganda designed to distract attention from the end of me that is really functioning?"

The riposte was typical Clare Luce—quick on the uptake, the proper sprinkling of wit and hyperbole. For while no one needed to call attention to her physical attributes, it was sometimes difficult to reconcile her striking beauty with her first-rate intellect. Indeed, Alexander Woollcott expressed it best when he commented: "Many of us were delighted to discover that a girl who could read without moving her lips didn't have to look like Dorothy Parker."

In this friendly but not fawning biography, Steve Shadegg, former Goldwater adviser, traces the remarkable career of that brilliant and versatile editor, foreign correspondent, playwright, politician and diplomat, a woman of conviction who was not content to get by on her charm and looks.

After the breakup of her six-year marriage to wealthy George Brokaw, whose increasingly heavy drinking finally made married life intolerable, Clare Boothe Brokaw was suddenly a well-to-do 26 year old who was heavily in demand in the social whirl. But she wanted something better than endless cocktail parties. So she wangled a minor job with *Vanity Fair* and was promoted to associate editor of that sometimes whimsical, sometimes satirical magazine that published Hemingway, Walter Lippmann, Dorothy Thompson, Raymond Moley, Sinclair Lewis, Morrie Ryskind, William Saroyan and Maxwell Anderson.

It was a heady experience for a young girl, and before long her name was being linked with Vincent Astor, William Paley, Arthur Krock, George S. Kaufman and Jock Whitney. Bernard Baruch, unofficial adviser to a succession of Presidents, fell in love and wanted to marry her. Under his aegis she gained admission to that small, select group surrounding FDR, becoming, in her words, "the lowly kitchen maid of the New Deal Cabinet."

BUT IT WAS Henry R. Luce, the introspective and enigmatic 36-year-old publisher of Time, Inc., who won her heart. He was, says Shadegg, the most intellectually interesting man she had ever encountered. There is evidence, Shadegg notes, that the 32-year marriage failed to give her the warmth and fulfillment she desired, largely because of Harry Luce's lifelong preoccupation with his magazine. In some respects they were more like partners in power. But their relationship, based upon genuine mutual respect and polite affection unruffled by any deep passion, was ataractic for both of them.

Shadegg makes no attempt to deny that Clare Luce benefited from her husband's power and prestige. He assigned *Time* staffers to her campaign staff when she ran for Congress from Connecticut (for which he helped write speeches). And her relationship to the most powerful publisher of his era obviously did not handicap her political and ambassadorial career. But her talent as editor, foreign correspondent and writer had been established long before she met Henry Luce. Furthermore, *Time* did not hesitate to pan her

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plays, nor to support Clarence Streit's "Union Now" which she opposed as utopian and impractical, nor to describe her address to a Wisconsin GOP convention as "a model of partisan politics."

Furthermore, she was a ready target for everyone who had a real or imaginary score to settle with *Time* (what public figure didn't?). And the vindictive crusade waged by Sen. Wayne Morse, which finally led her to reject the ambassadorship to Brazil even though the Senate confirmed her appointment 79 to 11, was undoubtedly prompted by Morse's lingering resentment toward *Time* for criticizing him when he switched his affiliation from Republican to Democrat.

During her two congressional terms (1942-46) the "Candor Kid," as she was known, became an outspoken critic of FDR, who, she charged, "lied us into a war into which he should have led us." In her maiden speech in Congress, she described Vice President Henry Wallace's ideas as "globaloney." When Wendell Willkie asked her advice about the 1944 Presidential election, she bluntly advised him to "stop drinking, lose forty pounds, and adopt a more realistic understanding of the Communists' announced plan to conquer the world." Alluding to FDR's instructions for Democratic floor leaders to clear the 1944 VP selection with labor official Sidney Hillman, she told a GOP rally that after the election "there will be nothing for Sidney to clear but his throat."

These remarks, frequently spontaneous and always newsworthy, tended to obscure her substantial record in Congress: the demand for an end to the Chinese Exclusion Act; a plea that Britain grant independence to India (which elicited a heated six-page cablegram from Churchill); her introduction of a resolution calling for racial equality in the Armed Services; and her condemnation of the DAR for refusing its Washington hall to Marian Anderson.

She was a principled and consistent anti-Communist at a time when much of the political and social elite was still infatuated with "Uncle Joe" Stalin. And when she made her intellectual conversion to Catholicism, after the death of her beloved daughter, she refused to run for re-election because she knew her enemies would say that her conversion was manufactured to appeal to her strongly Catholic constituency.

Bishop Fulton Sheen, who remarked that he had never encountered a more

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brilliant mind than hers, said: "She doesn't have a rational knowledge. She intuits. She sees things all at once." And indeed she intuited the attack on Pearl Harbor (writing, on Dec. 6, 1941, that nobody "would be the slightest bit surprised if we went to war with Japan tomorrow") . . . proposed a Western military alliance several years before NATO was formed . . . advocated a postwar European rehabilitation plan almost identical to the plan proposed two years later by George Marshall . . . and gave her husband the idea for what later became *Life* Magazine.

This book, the result of a hundred hours of tape recordings and a four-year study of two thousand pounds of Mrs. Luce's papers in the Library of Congress, is a fine portrait of an unusually gifted woman—a woman of extraordinary spirit and intellect, who, as Bernard Baruch one noted, "when courage was given out . . . was sitting on the front bench." □

FILM CHRONICLE

IN SEARCH OF A STYLE

DAVID BRUDNOY

As time-tested values are discarded like yesterday's newspapers, new values, some the embodiment of glorified valuelessness, compete for the attention of a rootless age suspended between the frozen rigidities of the past and the neologies of the with-it-grab-it-do-it future. Politics searches for new gimmickry, while the arts reflect the fragmentation of established patterns. The theater wheezes in the death throes of its enchantment with nudity, audience "participation" and other tedious diversions from the play, which is no longer the thing. Television opts for relevance while hoping still to entertain, but winds up with neither. The cinema frantically tries to be Meaningful but usually settles for reinforcing prejudices. Today's film also reflects a stylistic, as well as thematic, vacuity: stylelessness or hideous, self-conscious Style, but very little easy stylishness.

THX 1138 (rated GP) is an almost unendurably dull movie by George Lucas and John Milius, both in their mid-twenties, both aching to Say Something without much conception of what to say or how to say it. Projecting a monstrous, computerized slave-state of the future, *THX 1138* (the "name" of the protagonist, played without emotion by Robert Duvall) is little more than a flip-off from cutting room leavings out of *2001: A Space Odyssey*, the great science-fiction film of our time. One giggles at some of its crudities (robot cops with metal faces and very human bodies; a stupid Negro "hologram" come to life; everybody bald, dressed in white jumpsuits—echoes of Rudi Gernreich?; such-like silliness), but one yawns at the serious message. *THX 1138* emerges neither as a good thriller nor as interesting social commentary. It lacks coherent style; it is a mishmash.

Turning to the current youth-truth-flick, *The Pursuit of Happiness* (GP), we notice the same problem, an unresolved search for a style, for a coherence. Director Robert Mulligan has programmed the right inputs: Frank Zappa records, adorable concerned collegians, Establishment hypocrites, Truth, Honesty, Peace, the works. But the kids are dimwits, lacking any appeal beyond their bodies. Barbara Hershey is Miss Clairol of 1971, remarkably perfect, and Michael Sarrazin, who came to prominence in *They Shoot Horses, Don't They?*, is Ivory pure, but as in the earlier film, a zero. We are subjected to that skinny-dipping scene made requisite by *Woodstock*, Nature blessing Our Children in their innocent play; we are deafened by the echoes of Camus' *L'Etranger* (a senseless death, an innocent punished because he isn't contrite); we are slapped with the "tragedy" of Commitment stifled by The System. But *Pursuit* comes apart in the space of ninety minutes, because there's no consistent point of view, no mastery of any style whatsoever, no audience response except ho-hum.

And where, oh where, is rock to go? A spark of interest in "rock opera" was generated by the uneven but fitfully brilliant new record album, *Jesus Christ Superstar*. Obviously, after rock opera comes—"The first Electric Western," *Zachariah* (GP). The kids are lining up for blocks to get in, and the word in the gay press has it that *Zachariah* is this year's crypto-homo-film. Granted, there's a wisp of the swish in the relationship between the two young gunslingers (John Rubinstein as Zachariah, and Don Johnson, who plucked all the fruits in last year's *Magic Garden of Stanley Sweetheart*, as Matthew), but that element is insignificant and undeveloped. Country Joe and the Fish, the New York Rock Ensemble, drummer Elvin Jones and White Lightnin' do their bit to make *Zachariah* some sort of rock Western. Pat Quinn plays temptress Belle Starr for yucks ("Billy the Kid, Wyatt Earp, Marshall McLuhan, I've had them all"). The ads slyly appeal to hip audiences—"A head of his time." Etcetera. But *Zachariah* doesn't go anywhere. Undecided whether to be comedy, love story, social commentary (that again), or put-on, *Zachariah* bombs. It lacks a particular, distinctive, characteristic mode; in short, it lacks style.

So too, *Little Murders* (R), Jules Feiffer's play misdirected on screen by Alan Arkin, who also overacts as the paranoid Detective Practice. This little horror tale of urban madness starring Elliott Gould, who may well wind up again as Mr. Streisand if he cannot rise above trifles like this, starts out as broad black comedy, sinks into a sandbox psychology lesson in castrating femaleese, and then dies as half-assed surrealism. *Little Murders* has several high points: Donald Sutherland's brilliant bit as a hippie minister; Lou Jacobi's hysterical shtick as a maniacal judge; Marcia Rodd as Gould's aggressive Patsy—"I don't want to dominate you; I want to *change* you"; a few moments with Patsy's nutty family. But, in between, deathly, thematic holes filled with styleless, graceless stage business, full of scenes and tantrums, signifying nothing.

All is not lost, however, in our search for style. François Truffaut continues the semi-autobiographical series begun in 1959 with *The 400 Blows*, followed by *Stolen Kisses* in 1969, with *Bed and Board* (GP), the only one of these films to capture a style successfully. *Bed and Board* is the charming tale of Antoine Doinel, again beautifully played by Jean-Pierre Léaud, now married to his lovely Christine, Claude Jade once more. It chronicles the birth of

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their first child; Antoine's affair with Kyoko, an impassive flower of the Orient manifesting all the frangibility of petrified chrysanthemum and all the emotional variations of the tea ceremony; and Antoine's return to Christine after Kyoko bores him silly. It harkens back to the 1940s domestic comedies, evoking the spirit of a less chaotic time. As described by the francophilic professor, Robert S. Davis, *Bed and Board* reflects the new classicism, which Davis predicts will be the new fad in the arts and in couture. It will be interesting to see where Truffaut goes in the next chapter of Antoine's life. For the present, at least, Truffaut has shown again that he's the current cinematic master of style—in this case, of an old style revived and, I think, greatly refined. □

BOOKS IN BRIEF

THE SECRET EMPIRE, *The Success Story of Switzerland, by Lorenz Stucki (Herder and Herder, 339 pp., $9.95).* Visitors to Switzerland smell the good air, marvel at the scenery, enjoy the chocolate, buy the watches, sleep well under downy quilts, admire the picturesque villages and return home having thought no more about Switzerland than that it is a nice place to visit, and that one could very easily live there. Few wonder how a country with more vertical than horizontal land, situated in the heart of a most bellicose continent, with nothing going for it but its clean air, scenery and water power got that way. Lorenz Stucki tells you. *The Secret Empire* is a most fascinating rundown of how a people with no outside resources made it through industry, ingenuity and the hardest of hard work. In the Middle Ages, the Swiss exported their only marketable surplus—strong young men hired out to the armies of French kings, Italian *condottieri*, German princelings. Later those same young men became merchants: the money men, managers and technicians for industrialists abroad. Remember the gold strike at Sutter's Mill? Sutter was Swiss. Slept in a Ritz Hotel? Charles Ritz was Swiss. They learned to weave from the British, to make steel from the Germans, to pasteurize their chocolate and cheese, to adapt, to improve, to streamline. And always, whether working in Switzerland or abroad they poured their accumulated capital and their honed skills back into the country. Stucki (who is described as the Swiss Walter Cronkite, by the way) points out one fascinating aspect of it all: that even when the Swiss merchant princes had made it in the late nineteenth century, they built no luxurious mansions, acquired no great libraries or art collections; never went the playboy route. They maintained the Calvinist ethic, and do to this day. Good reading for Swissophiles.

P. L. BUCKLEY

THE LORD WON'T MIND, *by Gordon Merrick (Avon paperback, 336 pp., $1.50).* Grandmother introduces exquisite grandson Charlie to exquisite cousin Peter. Perfect Charlie falls for perfect Peter. Handsome Peter falls for handsome Charlie. Lovely Charlie loves lovely Peter. Precious Peter adores precious Charlie. Magnificent Charlie dotes on magnificent Peter. Virile young Peter moves in with virile young Charlie. Eager Charlie meets eager Hattie. Aggressive Hattie detests aggressive Peter. Indecisive Charlie ignores miserable Peter. Scheming grandmother twists truth out of guileless Peter. Heartless grandmother forever banishes pitiable Peter. Cowardly Charlie deserts worshipful Peter. Foolish Charlie marries flip Hattie. Rejected Peter meets Tom, Dick, Harry, Hughie, Walter. Sad Peter meets terrific Tim. Tremendous Tim falls for tremendous Peter. Happy Peter falls for happy Tim. Ecstatic Tim promises eternal love to ecstatic Peter. Bitchy Hattie argues with bitchy Charlie. Enraged Charlie fights with enraged Hattie. Shrewish Hattie mauls hysterical Charlie. Furious Charlie wallops hideous Hattie. Beaten Hattie bleeds. Bloody Charlie beats it. Terrified Charlie runs to faithful Peter. Comforting Peter soothes prodigal Charlie. Truly faithful Peter dumps truly faithful Tim. Matured Charlie tells truth to Machiavellian grandmother. Liberated Charlie lives happily ever after with faithful Peter. Maybe the Lord won't mind. Discriminating readers will. Gay liberation set back ten years.

D. J. C. BRUDNOY

SPEAR AND SCEPTER: *Army, Police, and Politics in Tropical Africa, by Ernest W. Lefever (Brookings Institution, 251 pp., $6.50).* An unblinking look at the realities of independent Africa, and in strong contrast to the revolutionary romanticism of another look at the same subject, Ruth First's *Power in Africa*, also just published. While passionately advocating "modernization," Miss First excoriates everything Western as "neo-colonialism." But "modernization" is to a large degree inescapably Westernization, as Dr. Lefever amply demonstrates. After an excellent opening essay on the difficulties of nation building in the presence of ethnic fragmentation, he examines specifically Ghana, the Congo and Ethiopia; in fascination we watch the bits and pieces of our confused memories of their recent history fall into a coherent pattern. Dr. Lefever, paradoxical as it may sound, concludes that, despite the plethora of coups, the armies in the new states contribute to political stability and development and reinforce moderation in external policy.

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BROGAN

(Continued from page 634)

the skilled labor they badly need. Most of the men so far dismissed by Rolls will find work elsewhere, though probably not in the towns where they are now living. They will suffer inconvenience and a little hardship for a time, but the economic health of the community will benefit. If the BR-211 is scrapped the dismissals will be far greater, and little may remain of the whole complex except the Rolls Royce car, which is still supreme and still profitable.

Other firms are also shedding some of their unnecessary load. The rising unemployment is partly the result of government policy. Faced with a restricted money supply, firms that grant substantial wage increases must cut down their work force. The shakeup will be painful, particularly for middle-aged executives, but it is long overdue.

The outcome of the battle is still uncertain. Important victories have been won but they have not been fully exploited, and strikes continue. Buttressed with 25 years of easy victories over complaisant employers and appeasing governments, the militants have not yet grasped that the tide has turned against them. Some of the statements made by strike leaders have been fatuous beyond belief, but the cooler heads among the union leaders must surely realize that a continuation of the present follies will do the unions infinitely more damage than the worst they imagine from Tory legislation.

There is much in the new Tory economic policy which displeases the purists of the market philosophy, and with good reason, as Enoch Powell has repeatedly made clear, but Edward Heath has done what no other Prime Minister has ever dreamt of doing. He believes that the fight has turned in his favor, but this is the hour of the greatest danger. He need fear nothing from the

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unions whose shrieks and threats are like the wild thrashings of a wounded snake.

The danger comes from pressure within his own party and even his own cabinet. There are those who support his rough policy but are increasingly urging that it should be modified by a little relaxation. Heath is dead against any relaxation until inflation is defeated.

Sudden the worst turns the best to the brave
The black minute's at end.

The black minute is not yet at end. Indeed, it may grow even blacker for a while. But if he keeps his head and his nerve, the end will come, and Edward Heath will have deserved better of his country than any other Prime Minister since the war. □

YALE

(Continued from page 652)

bat team, crew, ship or research group is formed it must work for months or years without significant personnel turnover. The hodge-podge "system" which produced the ludicrous units of World War II and Korea, and which is a significant cause of heavy casualties in Vietnam, must be abandoned.

Only by this personnel stability can the "team" and especially its leaders, be trained. New methods of building practical field leadership must be found, following the simulation concepts developed by NASA to train astronauts. Leaders are not made solely by reading books any more than quarterbacks are trained by chalk talks. It is all a question of doing. As George Patton put it: "It is *execution* that counts."

The dilemma of the draft lies in the fact that while it is unpopular today and unsuitable for tomorrow's crises and mobile wars, the alternative—the all-volunteer force—is a vital necessity and totally unfeasible in the present antimilitary climate. □

ZIMMERMANN

(Continued from page 655)

an all-room train. Travel again appeals to the sensibilities, not just the stopwatch.

At this moment, unhappily, the Super Chief's future is somewhat clouded. Amtrak, which took over its operation May 1, threatens to destroy the train's individuality and attractiveness. Still, the Santa Fe may be able to exert enough control to keep the service from deteriorating. □

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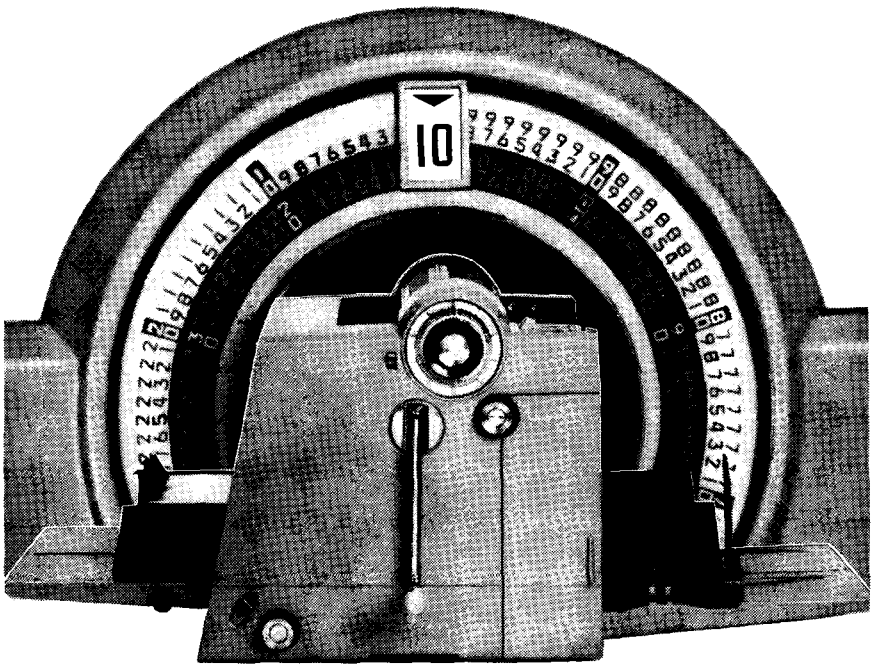

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Poor Wilfred Burchett

On The Right

New York, June 2—Mr. Wilfred Burchett, who is usually identified as "an Australian journalist," has sent out a dispatch from Paris, explaining some of the early developments that precipitated the great Cultural Revolution in China. According to Mr. Burchett, what happened is that a faction of Chinese attempted to purge Lin Piao, and to take over effective control of China, leaving Mao Tse-tung as a figurehead. In this unsuccessful enterprise an American is said to have been involved, or rather an ex-American: one Sidney Rittenberg, who was overwhelmed by Chinese Culture in 1968, and has not been heard from since.

Now for all we know, this is true. If so, it is only because it happens that there is a conjunction between the truth and the Communist line in that part of the world. Granted, in handling the story, the *New York Times* described Mr. Burchett as "left-wing." That is hardly enough, since nowadays left-wingers abound, but paid agents, past and present, of the Communists do not abound; at least, not paid agents whose words are quoted by the press as useful to the revision of history.

If we are to believe the sworn testimony of George Karlin, former agent of the KGB, as given in November 1969 before a Senate committee, a paid agent is what Wilfred Burchett, whom he knew as Peter Burchett, has been over the years; and if he happens now not to be a paid agent of the Communists, he is an unpaid agent of the Communists, to judge from what he writes and says.

Karlin met Burchett in 1947, in Berlin, at which time Burchett told Karlin, whose profession he evidently suspected, that he, Burchett, was a secret member of the Australian Communist Party, and that he was interested in professional opportunities in Moscow.

Burchett apparently has always had a little difficulty supporting himself and his succession of wives and girl friends. We have not for that reason to doubt the purity of his ideological devotion: once again, it was a happy conjunction—he could work doing what he liked best to do, lying and distorting for the benefit of his succession of Communist masters. During the Korean War, Karlin reported under oath, Burchett was "paid by the Chinese Communist Party all that period. Then when he came to Vietnam . . . all his expenses were paid by the Vietnam Communist Party, by Ho Chi Minh. . . . Ho gave him a house in Hanoi and a car, a secretary . . . He was 'equipped' very beautifully by the Vietnamese Communist Party."

But then in 1956, Burchett found himself stuck in Moscow without money and he proposed to Karlin that he proceed as a "free-lance correspondent, representing the American newspaper *National Guardian* . . . a small 'progressive' pro-Communist newspaper. . . . And then he told me that he could get these papers, he could officially be accredited in Moscow, but money was a problem, because no one would pay him money and he asked money from the Soviet Communist Party," poor Wilfred.

Well, Karlin introduced Burchett to the right people, whom he named in his testimony.

The committee counsel sought to sum up: "Now, have you told us all of your part in recruiting him; I mean by 'him,' Burchett?"

Karlin: "Yes."

Counsel: "For employment by the KGB?"

Karlin: "Sure."

POOR BURCHETT still has trouble getting all the money he wants, perhaps because of the Sino-Soviet split, perhaps because his current paymasters, on the assumption that he has not changed his profession, are niggardly, considering all the free publicists they have available to them in the West. Accordingly, to celebrate Burchett's sixtieth birthday, three people decided to throw him a money-raising party, to wit Mrs. Benjamin Spock, the actor Ossie Davis, and the singer Pete Seeger, the last two veteran Communist front joiners, the first, we must assume, merely an addled anti-Vietnamite. Among the sponsors were Noam Chomsky, Rennie Davis, Dave Dellinger, Communist official Gus Hall, Dorothy Healey, a Communist official kicked out of the Party because she objected to the Czechoslovakian coup; little Lord Haw Haw for the National Student Association; Corliss Lamont, Mark Lane, Carl Marzani, Russ Nixon—and, surprisingly, Howard Samuels, who ran for governor of New York, and runs now the off-track betting operation in New York.

Why do they do it? I mean, aren't there others around whose need for money is more fetching, than someone whose need for it is in proportion to the Soviet or Chinese Secret Police's husbandry? Why don't they, while they are at it, have a fund-raising party for the Communist Secret Police? □

LOOK, MAMA, ONLY 38 DAYS

New York, June 6 — Sixty American and European intellectuals, among whom the most conspicuous are Jean-Paul Sartre, Susan Sontag and Alberto Moravia, have sternly protested the humiliation of the poet Herberto Padilla by Fidel Castro. Indeed their remonstration is so firm that a French expert on Latin America, M. Marcel Niedergang, comments in *Le Monde* that—in the paraphrase of the *New York Times*—"the letter marked the effective break of European, United States and Latin American intellectuals with the Cuban regime that they enthusiastically supported in the 1960s."

Herberto Padilla is a youngish poet who elected to stay in Cuba after Castro took power. His mother, his father, his brother and his sister, took off, and settled in various parts of the United States where they have not been tortured once, so far as the record shows. Mr. Padilla, a gifted poet, began to give expression to his reservations about Castro's Cuba, and in due course he was detained. Thirty-eight days later, a "confession" was issued over his signature, in which the poet described himself as ignoble, unjust, cowardly, treacherous and untruthful.

Thirty-eight days to secure a confession of that sort suggests that Fidel Castro may even have advanced Josef Stalin's art. What Castro cannot do with

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the sugar harvest, he has succeeded in doing with a Cuban poet: indeed, perhaps the 38 days it took him to break the spirit of Padilla will suggest the spirit of achievement of the 26 of July Movement. Perhaps we can look forward to a 38-Year Plan?

As for the intellectuals, the letter of protest suggests that what offends them most is that Castro should have betrayed their confidence in him. The broken body of Padilla is a rebuke to their self-esteem.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, it becomes very important to bear in mind that we are talking about people who consider themselves the brightest in the whole world. Jean-Paul Sartre simply takes it for granted that the intellectual history of civilization is a pretty straight line from Aristotle to himself, with perhaps a genial pause, along the way, with Copernicus and Hegel. Susan Sontag summarizes her world-view with the observation that the white race is the cancer of history, and is no doubt especially troubled to have to criticize a member of the Third World. Alberto Moravia is a Communist. Miss Sontag is too young, but Moravia and Sartre have been around for years, apologizing for the Communists. Along with Miss Sontag, and others, they proclaimed Castro's revolution as—the words they use in their reproachful letter—"a model in the realm of socialism."

About the time they first began uttering those words in behalf of Castro, a small magazine in New York, hearing that Cuban journalist Ernesto de la Fé was about to be executed by Castro, sent a young reporter down to interview him. A cable to Castro's office elicited a reply of which the following are excerpts. The date was May 4, 1959:

"Dr. Castro already answered your ambiguous question. . . . He said de la Fé was the Josef Goebbels of Cuba. . . . Ernesto was a paid informer, a crime which carries the death penalty in war. . . . Since de la Fé is a Fascist and traitor, can he be anti-Communist? I think not. He used that banner to cover up his own crimes. There is very little difference between any Fascist and any Communist. A skunk by any other name would still. . . . Your defense of Ernesto de la Fé puts you in quite a spot. Since you are defending a Fascist and a traitor people will wonder whether you actually hate Communism or merely use that banner for ulterior motives." (Signed) Dr. Juan A. Orta, Director General.

It isn't known whether Ernesto de la Fé is alive or dead. Dr. Orta, presumably, has long since been shot, imprisoned, or liberated, for the sin of equating Fascism with Communism. But the rhetoric, a-way back in May of 1959 when Castro was affecting to be non-Communist, was revealing enough for junior clerks to get the message. But not for Nobel prize winners to get the message. One would think that in tribute to the future Padillas who will be seduced by the political advice of such as Sartre, Sontag and Moravia, that they would, as an act of contrition for having helped Castro entrench himself in power, publicly renounce any future role as political advisers to a world so substantially tyrannized by their political stupidity. □

THE PATIENCE OF MR. NIXON

Washington, June 12—It is hard to describe the reaction to the dramatic announcement of Mr. Nixon with respect to the SALT talks. The reason why is that what the President said is not easy to understand. Indeed an understanding of the technical complexity of the SALT negotiations is, quite simply, beyond the layman's powers, and for that matter beyond the powers even of some scientists. That's the kind of thing that happens when variables and coefficients of variables come into play. It is unlikely that you can find even a skilled layman who can give you immediately the answer, say, to such a question as: What if the United States offered to limit the ABM defenses around its MIRV-equipped Minutemen? Even if such a proposal were made at Vienna, Russian negotiators would go back to their hotel and think about it. As much time is given to very special chess moves. This is a very special chess game.

A FEW observations: 1) It has been the assumption of American conservatives that as long as Richard Nixon is President, American security is something we do not need to worry about. Granted the details are complicated, and beyond the reach of the common understanding; still—Richard Nixon will simply not let us down. Why? Because Mr. Nixon, whatever you say about him as a practical politician, is undeniably a patriot. And a patriot simply would not preside over the liquidation of America's nuclear deterrent, America's nuclear deterrent being generally understood as something in the absence of which America is—nothing.

2) President Nixon's strange silence, during his Presidency, on the general subject of strategic deterrents suggests (to his friends) one of two things. Either that he has an ace up his sleeve—a new weapon, or a concept of a new weapon which could be put on the drawing boards and got into action in plenty of time before the Soviet Union becomes too imperious. A second possibility is that Mr. Nixon is enjoying the waters of Vienna because he figures that the Soviet Union has got to come forward with disarmament proposals that are agreeable to us because the economic strain of its armament effort is simply intolerable.

3) Although one cannot rule out either of the two points as underlying the public nonchalance of the Administration, still there is anxiety. And that anxiety, at this moment latent, is likely to be aroused in the weeks and months ahead. It is to deal lightly with it to suggest that that anxiety could determine such questions as Mr. Nixon's re-election. That anxiety festers because,

4) It is increasingly apparent to the American body politic that the conjunction of the great political, moral and philosophical pressures of the past half-dozen years comes down on the White House in such a way as to encourage the superstition of détente. We are nowadays behaving vis-à-vis our brothers on the other side of the Iron Curtain as if they were altogether amiable political adversaries. I doubt, to give a silly example, whether a Reform Democrat in New York City could be persuaded to utter words against the Kremlin that could compare in sharpness with the routine denunciations of, say, Mayor Daley of Chicago. Now the significance of this datum is that Mr. Nixon, as a political centrist, is inevitably influenced by the intellectuals' emphasis upon negotiation, disarmament, détente, the disdain of nuclear superiority and of defensive missiles. He has gone further than a Richard Nixon unburdened by such pressures would have gone—sitting around, waiting for evidence of the Soviet Union's bona fides. The preternatural patience Mr. Nixon has shown in his dealings with the Soviet negotiators is inconceivable in the absence of the national disposition to: do anything, except face the facts of life.

The facts of life are that Mr. Nixon is sitting in the White House while the Soviet Union is accumulating a first-strike capability.

If he has an ace up his sleeve, the time to show it is soon. If it isn't there, he will lose re-election, which is a minor consideration up against what he, his children, and his children's children stand to lose. □

(Washington Star Syndicate, Inc.)

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Trans-O-Gram

By SVEND PETERSEN

DEFINITIONS

A. Material used to catch certain pests — 27 116 9 76 92 109 1 127

B. Of or pertaining to the rabble — 38 71 16 44 125 114 56 81

C. What Paris' famous Tower gives the sight seer — 54 82 176 87 11 58

D. A canoe made by hollowing out a large log — 66 78 126 83 111 138

E. State of being clumsy — 68 12 113 159 166 172 8 18 25 32 36

F. Crawled after the manner of a measuring worm — 110 96 157 134 174 24

G. A plan by which a purchaser reserves an article with a down payment and claims it only after paying the full balance — 153 117 101 128 61 135 105

H. One kind of Dane — 137 168 155 35 47 102

I. A loop with a running knot — 2 10 26 31 50

J. Recording the rate of a ship's speed or daily progress — 154 161 28 164 13 93 171

K. State of being beside oneself — 140 3 73 79 30 129 122

L. A device used to count the people passing through an entrance — 99 84 45 175 130 74 17 4 70

M. A type of jam — 33 85 64 88 121 97 112

N. A firth — 57 167 48 103 106 65 148

O. Periodicity — 29 34 63 67 49 133

P. Consummately executed or achieved — 72 139 5 104 51 150 37 160

Q. A river in So. America, 1,500 miles long — 77 107 152 98 80 131 86

R. A family of piano constructors — 21 136 100 39 19 151 120 123 108

S. U. S. dramatist and director (1906-1963) — 46 94 75 52 6

T. A knavish attorney in Dickens' *Old Curiosity Shop* — 115 177 20 40 170

U. Deficient in intellectual power — 158 89 141 15 7 41 162

V. Heretofore — 163 165 62 144 142 53 42 22 91

W. Untied — 14 132 143 43 146 118

X. Of the color sky-blue — 90 119 55 124 59 173 23 147

Y. Goring with cattle's horns — 145 60 149 69 169 156 95

DIRECTIONS

The object of TRANS-O-GRAM is to fill out the puzzle diagram by guessing the WORDS (above) from their DEFINITIONS, and transferring each letter of the guessed word to the correspondingly numbered square in the diagram. When the diagram is filled out it will spell out a quotation from some published work (reading normally from left to right, blank boxes indicating the ends of words); also, when the WORDS have all been filled in above, their initial letters will spell out the author and title of the quoted work. The acrostic feature, and the relative word-lengths in the diagram, will assist in the solution. Spelling and definitions on the authority of *Webster's New International Dictionary*, Second Edition.

See page 666 for solution of last Trans-O-Gram

1 A	2 I	3 K	4 L	5 P	6 S	7 U	8 E		9 A	10 I	11 C		12 E	13 J	14 W	15 U
	16 B	17 L	18 E	19 R		20 T		21 R	22 V	23 X	24 F	25 E		26 I	27 A	
28 J	29 O	30 K	31 I	32 E		33 M	34 O	35 H	36 E		37 P	38 B	39 R	40 T	41 U	
42 V	43 W		44 B	45 L	46 S	47 H		48 N	49 O	50 I		51 P	52 S	53 V	54 C	55 X
	56 B	57 N	58 C	59 X	60 Y	61 G	62 V		63 O	64 M	65 N	66 D		67 O	68 E	69 Y
70 L		71 B	72 P		73 K	74 L	75 S	76 A		77 Q	78 D	79 K		80 Q	81 B	
82 C	83 D	84 L	85 M		86 Q	87 C	88 M	89 U	90 X	91 V		92 A	93 J	94 S		95 Y
96 F		97 M	98 Q	99 L	100R		101G	102H	103N	104P		105G	106N	107Q	108R	
109A	110F	111D	112M	113E		114B		115T	116A	117G	118W	119X		120R	121M	
122K	123R	124X	125B		126D	127A	128G	129K	130L		131Q	132W	133Q	134F	135G	136R
137H		138D	139P	140K		141U	142V	143W		144V	145Y	146W	147X		148N	149Y
150P		151R	152Q	153G	154J		155H	156Y	157F	158U		159E	160P	161J	162U	163V
	164J	165V	166E	167N	168H		169Y	170T		171J	172E	173X	174F	175L	176C	177T

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Kentucky Straight Bourbon Whiskeys. 86 Proof & 100 Proof Bottled in Bond. Old Grand-Dad Distillery Co., Frankfort, Ky. 40601.

Anything over two fingers is excessively generous.

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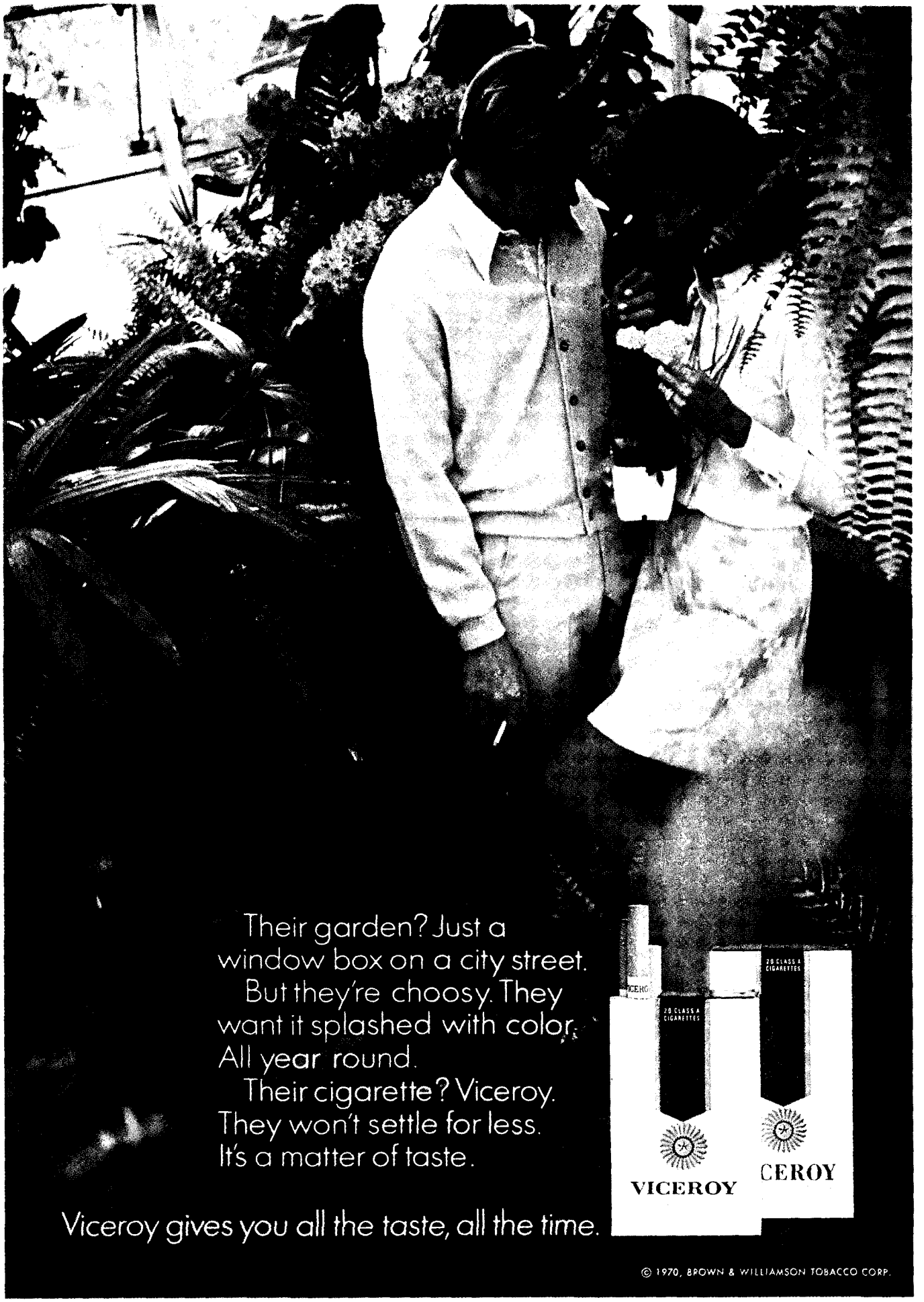
Their garden? Just a window box on a city street.
But they're choosy. They want it splashed with color. All year round.
Their cigarette? Viceroy. They won't settle for less. It's a matter of taste.
Viceroy gives you all the taste, all the time.
20 CLASS A CIGARETTES
VICEROY
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King Size, 17 mg. "tar," 1.2 mg. nicotine; Long Size, 19 mg. "tar," 1.4 mg. nicotine av. per cigarette, FTC Report Nov. 70.

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